

The Papers of the
Bibliographical Society of America

THE SOUTHWORTH-ANTHOESEN PRESS

PORTLAND, MAINE

BERNARD QUARITCH, LTD., LONDON, EUROPEAN AGENTS

The Papers of The Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME THIRTY-FOUR

1940

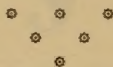


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THE ILLUSTRATIONS FOR ULRICH VON RICHENTHAL'S CHRONICLE OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE IN MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS

By KARL KÜP

ULRICH von Richenthal's *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* contains more than striking material for the study of mediaeval civilization. Nine copies of the lost original, all written between the years 1450 to 1465,¹ and three printed editions of 1483, 1536, and 1575,² combine to make up a story of unusual interest and to throw light on the publishing practices of an earlier period.

The manuscript, commonly known as the Aulendorf Codex, found to be the earliest of the known versions, is in the Spencer Collection of The New York Public Library and has been fully described in the Library's *Bulletin*.³

It was written and illustrated with numerous colored pen drawings in the Upper Rhine provinces of southern Germany, sometime between 1450 and 1460. It is a description of the

¹ For complete listing and description of the nine MSS, see: R. Kautzsch. *Die Handschriften Ulrich von Richenthals*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, Karlsruhe, 1894, N.F. 9.

² August Potthast. *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi, Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europaischen Mittelalters bis 1500*, Berlin, 1896, II, 1079-80, lists all three editions under Ulrich [von] Richenthal P. Keffeler, the printer of the third edition for Sigismund Feyerabend, should read: Paul Reffeler. See also: Heinrich Pallmann. *Sigismund Feyerabend*, in: *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1881, Vol. VII.

³ Karl Küp. *Ulrich von Richenthal's Chronicle of the Council of Constance*. In: *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, April, 1936, XL, 303-320.

Council of Constance, 1414 to 1418, by an eye witness, Ulrich von Richenthal who, with great journalistic feeling, kept a diary of all the interesting events he saw or heard. In minute detail he has written down the events of the Council from beginning to end, with its three main issues: restoration of the unity of the Church, accomplished by the removal of the schism; reformation of abuses in the Church; destruction of Wycliffite heresy attempted by the burning of Huss and Jerome of Prague. But more than that: we get an intimate account of town life in mediaeval Constance; we read about the streets, the buildings, the fathers of the city, the burghers, the visitors, the celebrations and feast days, the processions and proclamations. The manuscript is a distinguished example of manuscript illustration of the Suabian school of the fifteenth century, the prototype of woodcut book illustration in southern Germany.

Written in double columns with wide margins, on hard surfaced paper of German manufacture, the manuscript displays a bold cursive Gothic hand of the early fifteenth century. The writing is in black, except for occasional headlines to chapter beginnings and innumerable initial letters, some of them extending down the margin. It contains 115 full-page drawings in transparent watercolor and 837 gaily colored coats-of-arms.

The illustrations are fine specimens of pen drawings of the Upper Rhine school during the mid-fifteenth century. Carried out in long flowing lines they show little pressure of the pen. The strokes are even. There is no uncertainty on the part of the artist.

Landscape and architectural drawing was not in the tradition of the Upper Rhine provinces, but here the artist had to depict minster and shop, street and square, alley and vista, just as they were familiar to the citizen of Constance. His strength, however, lies in figure drawing and we detect his impressionistic ability. A few strokes of the pen sufficed for the face; eyes, nose and mouth are short decided lines, and almost always convey the character of the person portrayed. In the sketchiest way, the artist succeeded in



PLATE I. Ulrich von Richenthal, The Chronicle of the Council of Constance.
(Aulendorf Codex) MS., Germany, ca. 1450-60. Spencer Collection
New York Public Library. (Reduced.)

characterizing types as he must have seen them in Constance. The burghers and tradespeople, mostly Germans, have rounded uncouth faces compared to the elegance of line and the slenderness of the visiting Italian and Spanish heads.

Portrait quality was aimed at. Distinct types are discernable. The monk, the priest, the church dignitary, tradespeople, patricians, doctors and secular princes — we can spot them, not only by their costumes, but by their faces.

All illustrations are full-page, but many run over two or more consecutive pages. There is the first meeting of Pope and Emperor at Lodi; the entry of the Pope and the cardinals into Constance; scenes of market life in the city streets; the Pope is shown presenting the Emperor with a Golden Rose; processions headed by Emperor and Pope at Corpus Christi; the unfrocking and burning of Huss; the investiture of dukes and princes; the election and coronation of the new Pope, Martin V; and many other scenes.

The *Chronicle* is equally important as a source of heraldry, for it includes the coats-of-arms of a part of the participants in the Council. And Richenthal, feeling the weariness of his task, writes: "Should I mention every person, this book would get too fat."

Naturally, the effect of the Council on the economic life of the city of Constance was great, and its reflection on the book market is not without importance. We can well assume that a number, a large number, of professional scribes were kept busy. To judge from preserved examples, most of the manuscripts of that period are written in the semi-round Gothic hand of the time and, when illustrated, they carry the style of pen drawing of the Aulendorf Codex.

The guild or trade of scribes and illustrators soon developed into a highly organized union. Far into the first decades of the printed book the pen drawing, the illustration in black and white, is common in southern Germany. It stood between the finished illuminations from monastic schools, which had all the quality of

painting, and the first crude efforts of the early fifteenth century to cut designs on a wooden block. As design was paramount to pen drawings, the importance of black and white was constantly considered. Subject followed suit. While for centuries monastic illuminations had symbolized and embellished the written word, these early pen drawings served to convey and illustrate it. True representation of the scene was the aim.

We know that world chronicles, written and illustrated before Richenthal's story, had special appeal through the spontaneity of their pen drawings, trying to depict real scenes, events or personages. However, the important thing that was lacking in these picture cycles was the immediate and catching reality of representation of local history. It was hard indeed to work up enthusiasm over iconographically well-known representations of Biblical scenes. They lacked actuality and had little connection with the reader's world. However, there is one illustrated example before Richenthal which made an attempt at realistic representation: "Emperor Heinrich VII and his Brother Balduin's Journey to Rome," written towards the end of the fourteenth century.⁴ Despite this early effort more than seventy years were to pass until, with the appearance of the spirited drawings to Richenthal, from life or memory, the true representation of actual scenes was accomplished.

The awakening realism of the Gothic period here manifested a victory. Secular manuscripts, chronicles and story books aptly lent themselves to this style of illustration. A keen sense for the immediate, the real, and the naturalistic supplanted the manner of imagery and "style." For the first time actual representation of streets, of buildings was attained; for the first time attention was paid to "portrait quality" in drawing certain personages. The

⁴ Now in the Staatsarchiv at Coblenz, Germany. Published by the directorate of the Prussian State Archives: *Die Romfahrt Kaiser Heinrich VII im Bildercyklus des Codex Balduini Trevirensis*, Berlin, 1881. Text by G. Irmer. See also: Josef Zemp. *Die Schweizerischen Bilderchroniken und ihre Architekturdarstellungen*, Zürich, 1897, p. 17.

Die bedendte sich papst johānes mit sein rāten zūlodē
vnd taten im das concilio zū habent vnn̄d gen costenz
zelegen vnd dohin zekōmen vnd spricht
Fili carissime placet michi Constancia.



PLATE II. Ulrich von Richenthal, Das Concilium geschehen zu Konstanz,
Augsburg, Anton Sorg, 1483. (Reduced.)

Aulendorf Codex is a splendid example of this advanced style.

However, it was left to the late fifteenth century and the printing press to fully satisfy the never-ceasing appetite of the people for such illustration.⁵

The year 1483 marks the first *printed* edition of Ulrich von Richenthal's *Chronicle of the Council of Constance*. Published in Augsburg by Anton Sorg, and called: *Das Concilium geschehen zu Konstanz*,⁶ the book is a small folio, with 41 full-page woodcuts and 1,159 woodcut coats-of-arms, much admired by William Morris, who praised it as one of the outstanding German books of the fifteenth century, with armorial cuts which show what admirable decoration can be got out of heraldry when it is simply and well drawn.

One may wonder why Richenthal, sixty-five years after the Council, should suddenly burst into print. But the invention of printing and the growing need for reading matter which the man in the street could understand and appreciate had forced the early printers and eager publishers to search for suitable material. Besides, reformation was again in the air, and an account of a church council, still fresh in the minds of many a cleric and townsman, might prove a successful undertaking. Moreover, Richenthal manuscript versions were at hand and it was an easy task for editor, printer, and woodcutter to "make a book of it." Slight edi-

⁵ For instance: Königshofen's *Chronik*, Augsburg, Bämmler, 1476 (Muther) 46; Rolewinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*, Cologne, Quentell, and later Basel, 1480 and 1482 (Muther 120-9, 131, 136-7, 326-7, 512-3); Thomas Lirar's *Schwäbische Chronik*, Ulm, Dinkmut, 1486 (Muther 345-55); *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, Ratdolt, 1488 (Muther 329); Schedel's *Buch der Chroniken*, Nuremberg, Koberger, 1493 (Muther 424-5); *Chronica van der hilliger Stat van Coelle*, Cologne, Kölhoff, 1499 (Muther 413).

⁶ Ulrich von Richenthal. [*Concilium zu Constanx*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1483] ccxlvii [i.e. ccxlix] f., 1 l., 29½ cm. (f°.) Hain 5610; BMC, II, 350. IB. 5958; Schreiber 5095; Muther 174; Morgan 151; Fairfax Murray 353; Schramm IV, p. 32; Gothic type (Proctor 1690); 2 columns, 34-37 lines; 1,203 woodcuts (Schramm IV, 1051-2253) comprising 41 full-page cuts, 3 half-page cuts and 1,159 coats-of-arms (including 53 blank shields).

torial changes, a bit of cutting here and there, perhaps stressing the burning of Huss, the condemnation of Jerome of Prague, and the relating of events in Constance city streets, was all that was needed. Glamorous tales of foreign and distinguished visitors, cleverly brought together, and illustrated with woodcuts, based on the manuscript drawings — that is the Richenthal incunabulum of 1483.

As customary throughout the fifteenth century we find most copies of the Richenthal incunabulum touched by the colorists in more or less crude fashion. The copy in the Spencer Collection has flat tints of heavy pigment, to the extent of almost covering the outlines of the woodcut. There are few attempts at shading, but they are significant. We cannot say, however, that the Aulendorf Codex, or for that matter any of the other versions of the Richenthal manuscript, served as an example for the colorist. The manuscript has soft pastel shades, while the incunabulum is in deep red, rust brown and brilliant green, throughout.

Kautsch and Lehmann-Haupt have pointed out the importance of the pen drawing in the development of book illustration in the south of Germany.⁷ They have established the relationship between the pen drawings and the woodcuts, and vice versa. The year 1460 is supposed to be the turning point: the woodcut begins to influence the draftsman who, from then on, after all, is occupied in drawing for the woodcutter, and for this very reason adopts the manner of his pen to the manner of his colleague's knife.

In the Aulendorf Codex little of this fact can be traced. The lines are still too much "drawn," almost calligraphic. The "angularity," typifying the connection between draftsman and woodcutter is not yet apparent.

The woodcuts of the incunabulum, however, have great likeness in subject matter to our pen illustrations in the Aulendorf

⁷ R. Kautzsch, *Einleitende Erörterungen zu einer Geschichte der deutschen Handschriftenillustration im späten Mittelalter*. Strassburg, 1894; H. Lehmann-Haupt, *Schwäbische Federzeichnungen*. Berlin, 1929.

Codex and yet they are quite different in both conception and execution. It is here that we may assume that designer or woodcutter of the incunabulum edition worked from the lost original manuscript.⁸

The 41 scenes selected by Anton Sorg and cut on wood by the "Master of the Sorg Columna" have features peculiar to and characteristic of all early Augsburg work.⁹ Gone is the vivacious quality of the pen drawings of the Aulendorf Codex. Gone is the spirited touch and impressionistic actuality of the draftsman's work. The woodcuts display figures heavy-set and squat, with faces angular and of little distinction; people with long noses between deep round eyes, with broad heavy mouths over round chins, as we know them in early Augsburg book illustration. There is little effort to portray or to distinguish types. The Italian Pope looks like the German Emperor, and Huss like his executioners. Only in composition and in the grouping can similarity be found, although the designer or woodcutter has often reduced the number of participants in a procession or street scene.

The woodcutter's attempts at perspective are equally crude and unsuccessful. He made little or no effort as to landscape or realistic representation of buildings, churches, interiors. The great hall of the *Kaufhaus*, in which the Pope and Emperor met, the church in which the canonization of St. Brigitta took place, may be any hall, any church, anywhere. A step in the right direction, however, is to be found in the costumes of the brave citizens of Con-

⁸ Leo Baer, in: Thieme-Becker. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künste*, Leipzig, 1913, VIII, 250, under Dacher, assumes that the "lost" MS., supposed to have served as a model for the woodcut edition, was a product of Dacher's workshop. However, since all of Dacher's MSS. were partly painted with a brush (Prague, University Library, Cod. XVI.A.17; Karlsruhe, Cod.St.Georgen 63; Stuttgart, hist.fol.22) we cannot accept this theory full-heartedly and believe that a MS., illustrated with pen drawings only, like the Aulendorf Codex, would have been a better model for designer and cutter. We assume that Aulendorf is the closest link between the missing original and the printed edition, though no direct relationship may be claimed.

⁹ Leo Baer. *Die illustrierten Historienbücher des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Strassburg, 1903, pp. 33, 141.

stance. While those of the manuscript represent the style of 1450 to 1460, with short coats, pointed hats and elongated shoes, Anton Sorg, the far-sighted publisher, saw to it that the woodcuts of his edition were to display the latest, if not the coming fashion of Augsburg of 1483.

When we consider Italy's contribution to the art of that time — the paintings of Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci and Mantegna, the Renaissance churches of Leone Battista Alberti, and the glamorous court of Lorenzo di Medici, while Paris erected its Hotel de Cluny and François Villon sang of romance and love — when we consider the strong characteristics and the sophistication of German craftsman-artists of the time, Michael Pacher and his carved altarpieces, Schongauer, the master of engraving, or when we think of religious Memling of the Netherlands, or playful Jean Fouquet of the Ile de France — we cannot help but wonder at the crude efforts of Augsburg illustration. But we must not forget that these woodcuts, appearing in printed books, were the beginning of a new venture, taken over by a group of men formerly employed in related trades — a group of men who had to be trained for at least a generation until, with the appearance of Dürer's genius and technical skill, the painted picture with its elements of composition, perspective and tonal qualities could successfully be transferred to the new medium, the woodcut.

When Heinrich Steiner, printer and publisher in Augsburg, heard that the *Reichstag* in 1530 was planning another council, he immediately set upon a new edition of Richenthal. The book, a small folio, based on Sorg's edition of 1483, using the same text with modernized spelling, the same cycle of illustration, re-designed and re-cut, and the same coat-of-arms, appeared in 1536.¹⁰

¹⁰ Ulrich von Richenthal. *Das Concilium. So zu Constanz gehalten ist worden | Des jars do man zalt von der geburd vnsers erlösers MCCCCXIII Jar.* [Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1536], ccxv f., 1 l. 30½ cm. (f°.) Dodgson, v. 2. p. 110; Fairfax Murray 353; Muther 1109; 1,204 woodcuts comprising 42 full-page cuts, 3 half-page cuts and 1,159 coats-of-arms (including 53 blank shields).

Handlung des Conciliums

Hienach bedenckt sich Papst Johannes mit seynen Rätthen zu Loben/vñ
rathent jm das Conciliū zu haben/vnd gen Costenz zulegen
vnd dahin zukommen vnd spricht.

Fili carissime placet mihi Constancia.



Sie rede

PLATE III. Ulrich von Richenthal. Das Concilium. So zu Constantz gehalten. . . . Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner, 1536. (Reduced.)

It was the year when Anne Boleyn's head fell on the block, the time of Tintoretto, of Veronese, of Palestrina's sacred music. While the German Emperor and the French King were engaged in the Italian wars, while Philibert de l'Orme and Palladio each built according to his conception of beauty, Germany, engaged in reform of Church and State, was not unaware of the new laws of artistic rendering and of perspective, as first brought forth by the re-discovery of Vitruvius. A vast number of similar treatises had been published there, and Dürer, Rodler, Kern, Hirschvogel, Lautensack and Luckner must surely have been known to German publishers and to the woodcut-designers in their employ. Do we then find this new conception expressed in their latest creations?

Cycles of illustration in popular books, which have gone through many issues, are often established by the first edition — which in turn, as in our case, has its derivation from an illustrated manuscript.¹¹ In subsequent editions, by either the same or other printers, the same passages of text are illustrated and either the same woodcuts, modernized copies of them, or adaptations of the same compositions appear throughout. The *Conciliumbuch* is an excellent example for such publishing practices.

Heinrich Steiner succeeded in presenting the old-fashioned illustrations in a new dress and with renewed appeal, in 42 full-page and three half-page woodcuts, closely copied from the 1483 edition.

We know that both the elder and the younger Breu worked for the Augsburg publisher and, in comparing the woodcuts in the *Conciliumbuch* with other work of these masters, we may safely attribute them to their workshop.¹² We may even go so far as to attribute certain woodcuts to the elder, others to the younger Breu,

¹¹ Campbell Dodgson. *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1903-11, I, 25.

¹² W. Schmidt, in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1903, XXVI, 133.

each having their respective characteristics.¹³ The human figures cut by the younger Breu are slender, with small heads; while the father, trained in the Augsburg tradition, draws them with stocky legs and arms and with round, large heads and pronounced features. The son, in rendering character to certain types of people, is less concerned with detail. He has more elegance, a surer line, almost a touch of suavity. His costumes are long, flowing garments with elegant folds, in contrast to the simple and primitive costumes by the elder Breu. How different the horses of both men! Those of the younger Breu are racy, nervy and full-blooded. Those of the father are heavy, *gemuetlich*, slowly trotting their pace. How different the landscape! The son using it as an end in itself, avoiding the old-fashioned method of filling every corner of the composition with vistas of field and forest, while the father still worked in the old manner. To him pure landscape drawing did not yet exist.

Is it the son's Italian training that we detect, or did he, as the younger and more formative, adapt himself to the new teaching coming over the Alps and filtering into the German artist's conception? In any case, definite progress is discernible, and the younger Breu's woodcuts stand out against those of his father, promising new life to the older German school.

Both masters employed the Sorg edition as model with servile dependence. Not only do the woodcuts follow the same order but they slavishly copy the same composition, except where fashion or whim dictated advisable changes. We experience the same meeting of Pope and Emperor at Lodi; the same woodcut scene of the Pope's carriage overturned on the Arlenberg; the same presentation of the Golden Rose; the same entry into the town of Constance on Corpus Christi Day; and the same picture cycle of Huss's trial and burning. What is more, the 1,159 armorial wood-

¹³ Heinrich Röttinger. *Breu-Studien*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1909-10, XXVIII, gives a complete and satisfactory picture of the connection and collaborations of the two Breus, and their stylistic differences.

cuts appear in Steiner's edition in the same order as they did in the 1483 edition, with very few interchanges of position, though most of them re-cut, showing the characteristics of the Breus.

Since no method of making electros existed in the early sixteenth century, the methods of transference of woodcuts were: borrowing, buying, and re-cutting.¹⁴ The latter was the usual thing, sometimes carried to so many stages that one cannot help but deplore the successive deterioration of the original conception. In most cases the woodcutter preferred to copy the print before him on the new block to be engraved — in which case the new version would appear in reverse when printed. Few woodcutters had the skill and patience to cut the new block in reverse in order to obtain a correct duplicate. The easiest and most practiced method, however, was to paste the model print on the wooden block and to cut right through it, thus obtaining an almost exact duplicate. One cannot accuse the masters Breu of this latter method. What they did was to copy another man's design. But while they closely imitated the composition, they also introduced elements of design, modifications and improvements in technical treatment, which make these blocks their own work and give them a distinctive note. Here is the same re-cutting and adaptation process as found in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Venice, 1499, and of Paris, 1546; or in the Cologne Bible, of 1480, which inspired the woodcuts to the Malermi Bible, of 1490; or in the Lyons Terence, of 1493, and the Venice Terence, of 1497.

Not only did Heinrich Steiner prove his business sense in bringing out a new edition of Richenthal at a critical moment in Church history, he also showed taste in the presentation and make-up of the book. The Breu woodcuts alone did not satisfy his artistic eye and, as his printing office was well-connected with most of the Augsburg and Nuremberg *Kleinmeister*, we happily

¹⁴ Alfred W. Pollard. *The Transference of Woodcuts in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century*. In: *Bibliographica*, London, 1896, Vol. II.

find decorative borders of various kinds, initial letters with playful ornaments, borrowed from other printers or commissioned on his own accord, in the *Conciliumbuch*. Burgkmair's border of floral wreaths and playing angels does honor to this master of the woodblock.¹⁵ Another border, classical in feeling, with three medallions containing the head of a queen and two women, flanked by winged children, seated on dolphins, formerly ascribed to Hans Weiditz, has now been assigned by Dodgson to an unknown master, under Weiditz' influence.¹⁶

Unlike the 1483 edition, Steiner's *Conciliumbuch* contains an elaborately worded title-page in the style of the time. It displays a variety of type faces of more or less flourishing design. But what interests us is a large square woodcut, showing the Pope seated on a throne, surrounded by cardinals and bishops. This cut has been attributed by authorities to Hans Weiditz, and was taken from Steiner's first edition of Petrarch's *Tröstspiegel*, of 1532.¹⁷ The last page of the book, however, contains an early Augsburg woodcut showing Urban II, preaching to the people, taken from Bämmler's *Historie von der Kreuzfahrt nach dem heiligen Land*, Augsburg, 1482 — a curious and deplorable lapse on the part of Steiner who here, upon the slenderest pretext, fell back

¹⁵ A. F. Butsch. *Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance*. Leipzig, 1878, plate 31A.

¹⁶ Campbell Dodgson, op. cit. II, 192, No. 2. The woodcut appeared first in Steiner's *Petrarch: Von der Artzney beyder Glück, des guten und widerwertigen*, Augsburg, 1532, Vol. I, f. 144. This Petrarch contains 126 woodcuts in the first and 135 woodcuts in the second part, all by Hans Weiditz (Dodgson, op. cit. II, 144, No. 15), as well as five different ornamental tail pieces under Weiditz' influence, though Theodor Musper (*Die Holzschnitte des Petrarcameisters*, Munich, 1927) contradicts this statement and Richard Muther (*Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gotik und Renaissance*, 1460-1530, Munich, 1884) attributes them to Hans Burgkmair.

¹⁷ Disputed by Theodor Musper, op. cit., who claims that the "Petrarcameister" is not identical with Hans Weiditz, but an unknown personality, displaying unbounded resourcefulness of illustrative quality and imagination. Perhaps Vincentius Steinmeyer, in his preface to: *Neuen künstlichen Figuren*, Frankfurt, 1619, has the right solution when he says: ". . . wer er aber eygentlich sey, kan man nicht gewiss wissen, doch er sey gleich wer er wolle, so ist daran nicht sehr viel gelegen, denn das werck lobet seinen Meister."

into the negligent publishing practices of his predecessors and contemporaries in borrowing and re-using incongruous and outmoded woodblocks. This is all the more surprising as Steiner, who had come from Switzerland, had proved himself extremely successful in the selection of his publications. He had stressed popular books and literature and he had deliberately aimed at their proper illustration and appearance. Yet, publishing in those days was not as lucrative as we might suppose, and Steiner met with the same fate as so many of his profession. In 1545 his business was sold: first his house, then his materials, then his printing office.¹⁸ His failure brings to mind a letter of another great printer, John Baskerville, written to Horace Walpole, more than two hundred years later in which he, too, laments his lack of commercial success: "It is surely a particular hardship that I should not get on after excelling in the most useful art known to mankind, while everyone who excels as a player, a fiddler, a dancer, lives in affluence and has it in their power to save a fortune."

It seems almost incredible that Ulrich von Richenthal's *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* should have experienced a third edition, thirty-nine years after the second, ninety-two years after the first, and more than one hundred and twenty-five years after the original manuscript account. In vain do we look for a convincing justification of this re-issue, of 1575.

The Netherlands were fighting their great war of independence; Germany was swept under the wave of the Counter-Reformation; France, prosperous and at peace after years of struggle, was building chateaux in Touraine, while Diane de Poitiers collected priceless books; the magnificent palace of Aranjuez was under construction, though Elizabeth of England was preparing death for Spain's Armada, and the Empire was engaged in constant strife eventually leading up to the Thirty Years' War.

The book, called the *Costnitzer Concilium*, a small folio, decorated with many woodcuts and coats-of-arms from Steiner's edi-

¹⁸ Wilhelm Fraenger. *Hans Weiditz und Sebastian Brant*. Leipzig, 1930.

tion, of 1536, was printed by Paul Reffler for Sigismund Feyerabend of Frankfurt, in 1575.¹⁹

Steiner's materials and printing offices had been sold after his bankruptcy by his daughter, Anna, to the Frankfurt printer, Christian Egenolff,²⁰ and we may assume that the Jörg Breu woodcuts for Steiner's *Conciliumbuch* of 1536 were included in the transaction.²¹ Egenolff probably ceded or lent them to Sigismund Feyerabend when the latter saw an opportunity for republishing the *Conciliumbuch* under the title of *Costnitzer Concilium*.

Feyerabend must have been aware of the out-moded appearance of the Breu woodcuts, or else he would not have commissioned the great Jost Amman to design a title-page woodcut for his forthcoming publication. Amman took his motive from the title-page woodcut of the Steiner edition, designed by Hans Weiditz, set it into an oval frame with four elaborate woodcut corners and modified the composition to his liking and taste. His signature: "I. A.," is to be found at the lower left corner.²² The woodcut appears again on the first leaf of the book. On pages 58 and 59, Feyerabend printed Jost Amman's famous and popular tournament woodcut, signed "I. A. 1565" and taken from the *Thurnierbuch*, of 1566.²³

¹⁹ Andreas Andresen. *Der Deutsche Peintre-Graveur*, Leipzig, 1872, I, 334 (Jost Amman, 206); Heinrich Pallmann. *Sigismund Feyerabend, Sein Leben und seine geschäftlichen Verbindungen*. In: *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, Frankfurt a.M., 1881, Vol. VII, particularly referring to Paul Reffler.

²⁰ Hermann Grotefend. *Christian Egenolff, der erste ständige Buchdrucker zu Frankfurt a.M. und seine Vorläufer*. Frankfurt a.M., 1881.

²¹ Op. cit., p. 16, note 31; Anna Steiner had married the Frankfurt printer, Konrad Neuhaus, and the sale of the Steiner "shop" was probably arranged through his efforts and connections. About the year 1550, an abundance of Augsburg woodcuts by Burgkmair, Breu, Schöufflin and particularly Weiditz re-appeared in the printed works of Egenolff. See: Heinrich Röttinger. *Der Frankfurter Buchholzschnitt*, 1530-50, Strassburg, 1933, pp. 23, 137.

²² Carl Becker. *Jobst Aman, Zeichner und Formschneider, Kupferätzer und Stecher*, Leipzig, 1854, p. 75, No. 19, for complete description of the woodcut.

²³ Op. cit., p. 49, No. 27, for full description of woodcut; Adam Bartsch. *Le Peintre-Graveur*, Vienna, 1808, IX, 380 (Josse Amman, No. 21).

Was the enterprising business sense of the Frankfurt publisher the sole reason for the reappearance of the Council of Constance on the market? Was it his craving for popular literature, his lack of discrimination, that made him go back to local events of a past age — to be had for a song and to be sold for good money? Or was the *Costnitzer Concilium* another plea for the Catholic cause in an otherwise Protestant-infected century?

The fact that Sigismund Feyerabend conducted one of the greatest and most successful publishing enterprises of the German sixteenth century, that his output of literary products was prolific, though of a mediocre merit, and that he employed salesmen at all the great fairs, may account for the reissue of the *Costnitzer Concilium*.²⁴ His stockroom, filled with woodcuts by all the masters of the day: Virgil Solis, Jost Amman, Tobias Stimmer, Hans Burgkmair, and others may also account for the reappearance of the Breu woodblocks. Purchased by chance, transferred by chance — they were used when Feyerabend saw an opportunity to use them. All this, however, goes to prove the poor standards in publishing methods of the late sixteenth century, the slovenly and haphazard handling of material already published (since no copyright existed, we must not assume that Feyerabend did not act in good faith) and the power of a publisher to force a book on the public for which there was no immediate need.

We are at the end of all Richenthal editions, but not at the end of the picture-cycle established by the earliest manuscript version, the Aulendorf Codex. In 1712 the Amsterdam publishers, Pierre Humbert, issued Jacques Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, written from original accounts. The book, of quarto size, is illustrated with 19 full-page copperplates, designed and engraved after Bernard Picart.²⁵ Portrait heads of some of the outstanding participants, in the style of the early eighteenth century, are set

²⁴ F. Hermann Meyer. *Der Verlag Sigismund Feyerabends*. In: *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Leipzig, 1891, XIV, 114.

²⁵ Portalis-Beraldi. *Les Graveurs du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, Paris, 1882, III, 303.

into oval frames, while insignia, emblems, or events of their history fill the bottom of each plate. Pope John XXIII is shown with cowl, mitre and fetters, alluding to his imprisonment; Huss has a Baroque rendering of his execution before him. But Frederick of Hohenzollern, who was invested with the Margraviate of Brandenburg during the Council by the German Emperor, is portrayed with the scene of the investiture as foreground decoration. Design and composition of this scene, almost to the extent of exact copying, have been taken from the first crude pen drawings of the Aulendorf Codex, three hundred years, to be exact, the older model. Aside from iconographically established Bible scenes which have lasted through centuries, this is a significant example of longevity of illustrating an event of local history. A tribute, indeed, to Ulrich von Richenthal!

A CORRECTION

The editorial note 7a on page 53 of Volume 32 of the PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA reading as follows: "Ten of Carey's eighteenth-century catalogues, including one broadside, are at the American Antiquarian Society. ED." has been called to our attention by Mr. Chester T. Hallenbeck, author of the article, "Book-Trade Publicity Before 1800," to which that note was appended, as giving a wrong impression of the state of his knowledge regarding the existence of the Carey catalogues. On behalf of the Publication Committee of the Society, I express regret to Mr. Hallenbeck for the insertion of this note and assure him that it was not intended by the Editor as in any sense a criticism of the statement in his article to which it was appended.

CHAIRMAN, PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

THE DATES IN CERTAIN GERMAN INCUNABULA*

By FREDERICK R. GOFF

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THE dates which appear in incunabula present a variety of problems to the bibliographer.¹ Most of these problems may be solved by a knowledge of the usage of the classical Roman terminology for the divisions of the month in the period under discussion and by keeping in mind the variations in the commencement of the year in different localities. Accord-

* This study was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of History at Brown University, October, 1939. A shortened form of the introduction was read at the meeting of the Society at Washington, D. C., December 29, 1939.

¹ This study grew out of my association with the *Second Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in America*. In making the entries for the Census it was our

ing to Mr. Pollard,² the early German printers began their year either on Christmas Day or on January 1st, but no evidence is forthcoming as to which was preferred. Nicolas³ states that although it was the ancient German custom to commence the year with Christmas, during the fifteenth century, the year was begun at Mainz and Strassburg on January 1st. Since, moreover, most of the early printed German almanacs begin the year with January 1st, which suggests that this mode of dating enjoyed fairly general usage, one may conclude that German imprints may be reckoned according to our modern calendar.

Among the German imprints of the incunabula period, however, a further problem is presented by the method of dating according to the Church calendar with its year built upon Saints' Days and Church Festivals. Since this method was practiced almost exclusively by German printers, we shall refer to it for purposes of convenience as the *German style of dating*. An excellent example of this mode of dating may be found in the colophon of Hain *14075,⁴ which states that this particular fifteenth-century book was brought to completion "am donerstag vor Urbani . . . M.cccc.lyyyj," that is on the Thursday before Saint Urban's Day in the year 1481. Without a calendar for the year 1481 and without a knowledge of when Saint Urban's Day was celebrated at that time it is impossible to determine the day and month of publication. By recourse, however, to Dr. Konrad Burger's *The*

practice to verify all dates, but we soon realized that there was no detailed study from the point of view of the cataloguer of incunabula which considered the peculiar German style of dating. For that reason I felt that there was a definite need for an adequate discussion of the subject. I found it impossible, however, to treat the subject without any reference to the more general problems of the dates in incunabula. Therefore the ordinary procedure of dating in the incunabula period is discussed in an appendix.

² A. W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons*, Chicago, 1905, p. 177.

³ Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, London [1838], p. 45.

⁴ Ludovicus Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Stuttgart, 1826-38, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 243.

Printers and Publishers of the Fifteenth Century, London, 1902, one finds by looking under Anton Sorg, the printer of Hain *14075, that the date in question is given as May 25, 1481. But Dr. Burger did not explain his method of determining his dates, and there is no way of checking their accuracy.

In order to verify Burger's dates it is necessary to consult Dr. Hermann Grotefend's *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Hannover, 1891-98, where it is possible by using his table of saints' days and by referring to rather involved chronological tables which require a knowledge of the function of the Golden Number and the Dominical Letter to solve the date. In this particular instance Burger's date is incorrect, the correct date being May 24, 1481. Evidently Burger neglected to take into consideration the fact that this book was printed on the Thursday before Saint Urban's Day, not on Saint Urban's Day itself.

This procedure is not simple. Furthermore Grotefend's work, excellent as it is, is very general in its scope and makes no direct references to the dates found in the colophons of incunabula. The study which I have undertaken attempts to simplify and to systematize the solution of dates in the German style for the period 1454-1501. It is my hope that with this material it will now be possible to interpret these peculiar German dates or to check them for accuracy with little difficulty. I believe that this material will be especially useful in the solution of German dates found in editions unknown to Burger or to other bibliographers. It is also useful in the study of manuscript dates of ownership or dates of rubrication inscribed in the German style in fifteenth-century books. In the course of my investigation of this specific point a number of other illuminating facts about incunabula dates in general have come to light which will be given incidental treatment.

In my research I found eight hundred and thirteen colophons dated according to the German style. Anton Sorg, who set up his

press at Augsburg, appears to have used this style most frequently of all the German printers, for eighty-nine of the editions which he printed have these German dates in their colophons. Other leading contenders are Johann Schönsperger, also of Augsburg, with eighty-three titles; the anonymous printer of the 1483 *Jordanus de Quedlinburg* (Georg Husner) with seventy-six titles; Johann Bämmler of Augsburg, forty-seven titles; Johann Koelhoff, the elder, of Cologne, thirty-four titles.⁵

The first dated incunabulum, the magnificent Fust and Schoeffer Psalter of 1457, is dated in the German style, the date in the colophon reading: "Anno domini Millesimo cccc lvii, In vigilia Assumptionis."⁶ The eve or vigil of the Assumption, which may be determined by consulting the table of Saints' Days and Church Festivals (cf. Table 1), is of course the 14th of August. This date is a relatively simple one, and to reduce this to our modern equivalent does not require much effort. Unfortunately other dates in this style are more complicated.

Although practically speaking there was a saint's day or a festival for every day in the week for every week in the year (in fact the calendar was more than full, the number three hundred and sixty-five being wholly inadequate to accommodate all of the thousands of martyrs who had been canonized), it was only natural that certain of the more important saints' days and festivals should have been singled out to mark the divisions of the German calendar. Although their arrangement throughout the year followed no intentional pattern, they functioned in much the same fashion as the *calends*, *ides*, and *nones* of the Roman Calendar. Very often we find a German printer dating his publication a few days after an important saint's day had been celebrated or a

⁵ It must be noted that this style of dating, although less frequent was also used by many of the printers of the Low Countries. I also found a few isolated instances of dates in this style in Italian and French imprints, but I failed to find any evidence of this mode of dating either in Spanish or in English incunabula.

⁶ Contractions written out.

few days before a significant approaching holy day, dependent upon the date of the book's publication.

A good illustration, in addition to the example cited in the second paragraph, is provided by the colophon of Hain *9116,⁷ which states that this edition was brought to completion on "montag nach Sant Elizabethen tag" in the year 1486. To reduce this to our modern equivalent, one must determine two things: first, when was Saint Elizabeth's Day celebrated; and second, on what day of the month did the Monday after her celebration fall. The first step is to consult the table of Saints' Days and Church Festivals (cf. Table 1). This table, although especially adapted for application to the incunabula period, is based upon Grotefend's list of saints' days and festivals. His list, however, has been carefully checked against Frederick G. Holweck's *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, St. Louis, 1924, and rechecked with several fifteenth-century almanacs and calendars in which the saints' days were given. The table as it now stands contains a list of two hundred and thirty-five Saints' Days and Church Festivals that were observed during the period under consideration. Of this number one hundred and fifty-three were actually found in a fifteenth-century colophon. Each of these is marked with an asterisk. In addition variations in the spellings and terminology of fifty-six saints' days and festivals found in fifteenth-century colophons have been given for the convenience of the reader who may find these variant forms confusing.

By reference to this table we find that Saint Elizabeth's Day fell on the 19th of November. For the second step in the solution of the date under discussion, one must turn to Table 2. This table comprises fourteen year calendars according to our modern arrangement with an index for the years 1454 to 1501, indicating which calendar is appropriate for any year falling within this period. By consulting calendar number VII, which is appropriate

⁷ Op. cit., vol. II, pt. 1, p. 122.

for 1486, we find that November 19th fell on Sunday. The Monday after it is of course November 20th. Therefore, "montag nach Sant Elizabethen tag" in 1486 is in effect November 20, 1486. With the aid of the tables that have been compiled, this type of date may be transformed into our modern style of month and day.

A further complication which is frequently found requires additional explanation. This is the difficulty which a variable festival introduces. For example, if a book is dated on one of the holy days which depend upon Easter, such as Palm Sunday, one must necessarily follow a modified procedure to determine the month and day of publication. A typical illustration is found in the colophon of the second part of Hain *15965,⁸ which states that this particular edition of the *Sermones de sanctis* of Johannes de Verdena was completed on the "secunda feria⁹ post Laetare"¹⁰ in 1493, that is the Monday after Laetare, and upon consulting our table of Saints' Days and Church Festivals (cf. Table 1) we learn that Laetare is the third Sunday before Easter. Having determined the day upon which Easter fell in 1493 as April 7th by consulting Table 4, we turn now to the table of Movable Festivals which depend upon Easter.¹¹ This table, Table 5, lists all of

⁸ Op. cit., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 478.

⁹ In the course of my examination of fifteenth-century colophons, I found certain terms which frequently appeared in connection with the date. I have compiled a list of these and give them here in a special table (cf. Table 3).

¹⁰ Contractions written out.

¹¹ By way of explanation I should mention that the table of Movable Festivals includes only those which depend upon Easter, beginning with Septuagesima Sunday, the ninth Sunday before Easter, and ending with Corpus Christi, the Thursday following Trinity Sunday, which is the eighth Sunday after Easter, with the addition of the dates for Advent Sunday, the nearest Sunday to Saint Andrew's Day, November 30th. It includes none of the twenty-odd Sundays which follow Trinity Sunday. None of these Sundays, described either by their liturgical names or by the present day usage of designating Sundays in the Trinity season as, for example, "third Sunday after Trinity," are to be found in fifteenth-century colophons. These twenty-odd Sundays, however, are listed in Table 1. Should one of them turn up, one may determine the date by using the appropriate year calendar after finding the date for Trinity Sunday in Table 5.

the Easter dates which appear in Table 4 and the corresponding dates for the movable festivals dependent upon Easter. Here we find that when Easter is celebrated on April 7th, Laetare Sunday falls on the 17th of March; hence the Monday after Laetare in 1493 was the 18th of March.

In the next few pages is shown the group of tables used in the application of the method described. Following the tables is the conclusion of this study in which are shown selected examples of the procedure in which corrections have been made to the interpretations of other bibliographers.

Table 1

SAINTS' DAYS AND CHURCH FESTIVALS CELEBRATED DURING
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(An asterisk indicates that the saint's day or festival was found in the colophon of a fifteenth-century book by the compiler.)

*Abdon et Sennen	30 July
*Adolphus	10 September ?
Adorate dominum	The 3rd Sunday after Epiphany
*Adrianus	4 March
*Adventus	The Sunday nearest to Saint Andrew's Day, 30 November. cf. Table 5
Aegidius	cf. Egidius (1 September)
*Af(f)ra	7 August
*Agapetus	18 August
*Agatha	5 February
Agnes	21 January
*Albanus	21 June
Albinus	1 March
Alexius	17 July
(up) allre hilligen tag	cf. Omnium sanctorum dies (1 November)
*Ambrosius	4 April
*Andrea	30 November
(Andria)	
*Anna	26 July
*Annunciatio Mariae	25 March
(Annunciatio dominicae)	

*Antonius (Anthonius, Anthonus)	17 January
*Appolonia (Apollonia)	9 February
*Ascensio domini nostri	The Thursday following the fifth Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
*Assumptio Mariae Auffertag unsers Herrn (Affertag . . . , Auffart . . .)	15 August cf. Ascensio domini nostri
*Augustinus (Augusteius)	28 August
Balmtag	cf. Palm Sunday, Table 5
*Barbara	4 December
Barnabas	11 June
*Bartholomaeus	24 August
Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor et Nazarius	12 June
Bekerung S. Pauls	cf. Conversio Pauli (25 January)
*Benedictus	21 March
*Bernardus (Bernhardus)	20 August
*Blasius	3 February
*Bonifacius	5 June
*Briccius (Brictius)	13 November
*Brigida	1 February
Burchardus	14 October (variable)
*Calixtus	14 October
*Cantata	The 4th Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
*Catherina (Catharina, Katherina)	25 November
*Cathedra Petri	22 February
*Cecelia	22 November
*Cinerum dies	Ash Wednesday. cf. Table 5
*Circumcisio dominis Circumdederunt Clemens	1 January cf. Septuagesima, Table 5 23 November
Commemoratio Pauli	30 June
*Conceptio Mariae Coninghen (drei heilgen) Conradus	8 December cf. Epiphania (6 January) 26 November
*Conversio Pauli	25 January

*Corpus Christi	The Thursday after Trinity. cf. Table 5
Cosmas et Damianus	27 September
Creuz	cf. Exaltatio crucis (14 September); Inventio crucis (3 May)
(Creucz)	
*Crispinus et Crispinianus	25 October
Cunibertus	cf. Kunibertus (12 November)
Cyriacus et socii	8 August (South Germany); 16 March (North Germany)
Damasus	11 December
Da pacem dominica	The 18th Sunday after Trinity
Decem milium militum	22 June
*Decollatio Johannis Baptistae	29 August
Deus in adjutorium	The 12th Sunday after Trinity
Deus in loco sancto	The 11th Sunday after Trinity
Dicit dominus	The 23rd Sunday after Trinity
*Dionysius	9 October
Divisio apostolorum	15 July
Domine, in tua misericordia	The 1st Sunday after Trinity
Dominicus	5 August
Dominus fortitudo	The 6th Sunday after Trinity
Dominus illuminatio mea	The 4th Sunday after Trinity
Donatus	7 August
Dorothea	6 February
Drie coninghen	cf. Epiphania (6 January)
(Drey Kunig)	
Dum clamarem	The 10th Sunday after Trinity
Ecce deus adjuvat	The 9th Sunday after Trinity
*Egidius	1 September
*Elizabeth	19 November
(Elsbeten)	
Enthauptung Joh. Bap.	cf. Decollatio Johannis Baptistae (29 August)
*Epiphania	6 January
*Erasmus	3 June
Erfindung des heiligen Kreuz	cf. Inventio crucis (3 May)
*Erhardus	8 January
*Estomihi	The 7th Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
(Quinquagesima)	
*Eufemia	16 September
*Exaltatio crucis	14 September
*Exaudi domine	The 6th Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
Exsurge	The 8th Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
Eylfftausent Junckfrawen tag	cf. Ursula et xi milium virgines (21 October)

*Fabianus et Sebastianus	20 January
Factus est Dominus	The 2nd Sunday after Trinity
*Felix	14 January
(Felicze)	
Felix et Adauctus	30 August
Fides	6 October
*Florianus	4 May
*Franciscus	4 October
(unser) Frawen Tag do sy enpfangen ward	cf. Conceptio Mariae (8 December)
Fronleichnamstag unsres Herren	cf. Corpus Christi, Table 5
*Gallus	16 October
Geburt Marie	cf. Nativitas Mariae (8 September)
*Georgius	23 April (24 April in Augsburg)
*Gereon	10 October
*Gertrude	17 March
*Gervasius et Prothasius	19 June
Gilgen	cf. Egidius (1 September)
Godehardus	5 May
Gordianus et Epimachus	10 May
Gorgonius	9 September
*Gregorius	12 March
*Halbfasten	Mid-Lent (<i>i.e.</i> Laetare, cf. Table 5)
(aller) Heiligen Tag	cf. Omnium sanctorum dies (1 November)
*Hermes	28 August
Heymbesuchung unsrer lieben Frawen	cf. Visitatio Mariae (2 July)
*Hieronymus	30 September
(Jerome)	
Himelfahrt . . .	cf. Ascensio Domini; Assumptio Mariae
(Hemelsvaert, Hemelvartz, Hymelfahrt)	
Hippolytus et socii	13 August
Hubertus	3 November
Incarnatio Domini	cf. Annunciatio Mariae (25 March)
Incarnatio reparatoris	cf. Nativitas Christi (25 December)
Inclina aurem tuam	The 15th Sunday after Trinity
In excelso throno	The 1st Sunday after Epiphania
Innocentii	28 December
*Inventio crucis	3 May
*Invocavit	The 6th Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
In voluntate tua	The 21st Sunday after Trinity

*Jacobus	25 July
Jans Baptista (Jean Baptista)	cf. Joannis Baptista "
*Januarius	19 September
Jeorg (Jeorius)	cf. Georgius (23 April)
Jeronlmus (Jerome)	cf. Hieronymus (30 September)
*Johannis ante portam latinam	6 May
*Johannis Baptista	Nativitas — 24 June
(Johan des douffers, Johan- nis des Tauffers, Joannis des Teufers)	Decollatio — 29 August
*Johannis Chrysostomus	27 January
Johannis Evangelista	27 December
Johannis et Paulus	26 June
Jörgen	cf. Georgius (23 April)
*Jubilate	The 3rd Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
*Judica	The 2nd Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
Juliana	16 February
Justus es, Domine	The 17th Sunday after Trinity
Katherina	cf. Catherina (25 November)
Keretag S. Pauls	cf. Conversio Pauli (25 January)
Kers (Kerste, Kerz)	<i>i.e.</i> Christus
*Kerstavont	24 December
*Kilianus	8 July
Kreucz	cf. Exaltatio crucis (14 September); Inven- tio crucis (3 May)
Krithwiginghe unsers lieben vrowen	cf. Assumptio Mariae (15 August)
*Kunibertus	12 November
Kunig (drei)	cf. Epiphania (6 January)
Kuningund	cf. Septuagesima, Table 5
*Laetare	The 3rd Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
*Lambertus (Lampertus)	17 September
*Laurentius (Laurencze)	10 August
*Leo I, <i>papa</i>	11 April
Leodegarius	2 October
*Leonardus (Linhartz)	6 November

Liechtmess	cf. Purificatio Mariae (2 February)
Lorenze	cf. Laurentius (10 August)
(Lorentze)	
*Luca	18 October
*Lucia (et Otilia)	13 December
*Magnus martyr	19 August (South Germany)
*Magnus abbas	6 September (North Germany)
Mamertus	11 May
Mangen	cf. Magnus (19 August <i>or</i> 6 September)
Marcellus, <i>papa</i>	16 January
*Marcellus (et Valerianus)	4 September
*Marcus	25 April
*Marcus et Marcellinus	18 June
*Margaretha	13 July (15 July in Strassburg)
Maria	cf. Annunciatio Mariae (25 March); Assump- tio Mariae (15 August); Conceptio Ma- riae (8 December); Nativitas Mariae (8 September); Presentatio Mariae (21 No- vember); Purificatio Mariae (2 Febru- ary); Visitatio Mariae (2 July)
*Maria Magdalena	22 July
*Martha	27 (<i>or</i> 29) July
*Martinus	11 November
*Matthaeus	21 September
(Matheus)	
*Matthia	24 February (25 February in leap years)
(Mathia, Mathis des zwelfboten)	
*Mauritius	22 September
(Mauricius, Mauricze)	
Maximinus	29 May
Medardus	8 June
*Michael	29 September
Miserere mei, Domine	The 16th Sunday after Trinity
*Misericordia	The 2nd Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
*Mitfassen	Mid-Lent (<i>i.e.</i> Laetare, cf. Table 5)
(Mittervasten, Halbfasten)	
*Nativitas Christi (Domini)	25 December
*Nativitas S. Johannis Baptistae	24 June
*Nativitas Mariae	8 September
Nereus, Achilleus, et Pancratius	12 May
*Nicolaus	6 December
Nicomedes	1 June

*Oculi (Oculi)	The 4th Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
*Odulphus	12 June ?
Omnes gentes	The 7th Sunday after Trinity
Omnia quae fecisti	The 20th Sunday after Trinity
Omnis terra	The 2nd Sunday after Epiphania
*Omnium sanctorum dies	1 November
*Osterabent	Easter eve. cf. Table 4
*Oswaldus rex	5 August
*Otilia	14 December
*Ottmar (Otmар, Othmar)	16 November
*Palmtag (Palmarum dies)	The Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
Pantaleo	28 July
*Pascha	<i>i.e.</i> Easter, cf. Table 4
Paulus	cf. Conversio Pauli (25 January)
*Paulus eremitas	10 January
Pelagius	28 August
*Pentecost	The 7th Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
Perpetua et Felicitas	7 March
Petronella	31 May
Petrus	cf. Cathedra Petri (22 February)
*Petrus ad vincula	1 August
*Petrus et Paulus	29 June
Pflingsten (Pflingstag, Pflingste)	cf. Pentecost, Table 5
*Philippus et Jacobus	1 May
Polycarpus	26 January
*Ponciaen	14 January
Praxedis	21 July
*Presentatio Mariae	21 November
Primus et Felicanus	9 June
Prisca	18 January
Processus et Martinianus	2 July
Protector noster	The 14th Sunday after Trinity
*Prothasius et Hyacinthus (Protus et Jacinctus)	11 September
*Purificatio Mariae	2 February
Pynxt	cf. Pentecost, Table 5
Quadragesima	cf. Invocavit, Table 5

*Quasimodo geniti (Is) Qui deo dicatis conjugium interdixit Quinquagesima	The 1st Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5 cf. Gregorius (12 March) cf. Estomihi, Table 5
*Quintinus	31 October
*Quirinus	4 June
*Remigius (Remeys)	1 October
*Reminiscere Respice Respice, Domine	The 5th Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5 The 3rd Sunday after Trinity The 13th Sunday after Trinity
*Resurrectio domini Romanus Rufus Rupertus	Easter, cf. Table 4 9 August 27 August 27 March
*Sanctorum omnium dies	1 November
*Scholastica (Scolastica)	10 February
*Sebastianus	20 January
*Septuagesima	The 9th Sunday before Easter. cf. Table 5
*Servacius (Servatius)	13 May
*Severinus Severus Sexagesima Si iniquitates Silvestrus, <i>papa</i>	23 October 22 October cf. Exsurge, Table 5 The 22nd Sunday after Trinity 31 December
*Simon et Juda Simpertus Sixtus, <i>papa</i> Stephanus, <i>papa</i> Stufeuer S. Peters Suscepimus, Deus Symon und Juda	28 October 13 October 6 August 2 August cf. Cathedra Petri (22 February) The 8th Sunday after Trinity cf. Simon et Juda (28 October)
Thebei Theophania	22 September cf. Epiphania (6 January)
*Thomas apostolus	21 December
*Thomas Aquinas	7 March
*Thomas Cantuariensis	29 December
*Tiburcius	11 August
*Tiburcius et Valerianus	14 April

Timotheus	24 January
*Translatio trium magnorum	23 July
Tres reges	cf. Epiphania (6 January)
*Trinitas	The 8th Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
*Udalricus (Ulrich)	4 July
Undecim milium virgines	cf. Ursula (21 October)
Unsre lieben Frawen Tage der Purt	cf. Nativitas Mariae (8 September)
*Urbanus	25 May
*Ursula (et xi milium virgines)	21 October
Uyndynge des hilgen Cruczes	cf. Inventio crucis (3 May)
*Valentinus (Valentein, Valentijn, Valentinian ¹²)	14 February
*Vastnacht	Shrove Tuesday. cf. Table 5
*Vastwochen (anderen Vastwochen)	The first week in Lent (the second week in Lent)
Veit	cf. Vitus et Modestus (15 June)
Verkündigung unsres lieben Frowen	cf. Annunciatio Mariae (25 March)
*Victor	10 October
*Vigilia	24 December
*Vincentius	22 January
Vincula Petri	cf. Petrus ad vincula (1 August)
Virginum xi milium dies	cf. Ursula (21 October)
Virgines quarum sepultura decora est Colonia	cf. Ursula (21 October)
*Visitatio Mariae	2 July
Vital	28 April
*Vitus et Modestus	15 June
*Vocem jocunditatis	The 5th Sunday after Easter. cf. Table 5
*Walpurgis	1 May
*Wehennächten	25 December
*Wencelas (Wenzel)	28 September
*Willebordus	7 November
Wolfgangus	31 October

¹² cf. Hain, op. cit., vol. II, pt. 1, no. 9258. In the opinion of the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (no. 7303), this is an error for Valentinus.

Table 2

YEAR CALENDARS—1454 TO 1501

1454	See Calendar II	1478	See Calendar IV
1455	" " III	1479	" " V
1456	" " XI	1480	" " XIII
1457	" " VI	1481	" " I
1458	" " VII	1482	" " II
1459	" " I	1483	" " III
1460	" " IX	1484	" " XI
1461	" " IV	1485	" " VI
1462	" " V	1486	" " VII
1463	" " VI	1487	" " I
1464	" " XIV	1488	" " IX
1465	" " II	1489	" " IV
1466	" " III	1490	" " V
1467	" " IV	1491	" " VI
1468	" " XII	1492	" " XIV
1469	" " VII	1493	" " II
1470	" " I	1494	" " III
1471	" " II	1495	" " IV
1472	" " X	1496	" " XII
1473	" " V	1497	" " VII
1474	" " VI	1498	" " I
1475	" " VII	1499	" " II
1476	" " VIII	1500	" " X
1477	" " III	1501	" " V

1459	s	m	t	w	t	f	s		s	m	t	w	t	f	s
1470	January								July						
1481		1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1487	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1498	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	28	29	30	31					29	30	31				
	February								August						
					1	2	3						1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	25	26	27	28					26	27	28	29	30	31	
	March								September						
					1	2	3								1
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29
									30						
	April								October						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	29	30							28	29	30	31			
	May								November						
			1	2	3	4	5						1	2	3
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	27	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	
	June								December						
					1	2									1
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		23	24	25	26	27	28	29
									30	31					

CALENDAR IV

1461	s	m	t	w	t	f	s		s	m	t	w	t	f	s	
1467	January								July							
1478					1	2	3						1	2	3	4
1489	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1495	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		26	27	28	29	30	31		
	February								August							1
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
									30	31						
	March								September							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					1	2	3	4	5
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
	29	30	31						27	28	29	30				
	April								October							
				1	2	3	4							1	2	3
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
	26	27	28	29	30				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
	May								November							
						1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		29	30						
	31															
	June								December							
		1	2	3	4	5	6					1	2	3	4	5
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
	28	29	30						27	28	29	30	31			

CALENDAR V

1462	s	m	t	w	t	f	s		s	m	t	w	t	f	s		
1473	January								July								
1479						1	2							1	2	3	
1490	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
1501	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		11	12	13	14	15	16	17		
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
31																	
	February								August								
		1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
	28								29	30	31						
	March								September								
		1	2	3	4	5	6						1	2	3	4	
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
	28	29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30				
	April								October								
					1	2	3								1	2	
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
	25	26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
									31								
	May								November								
							1			1	2	3	4	5	6		
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		28	29	30						
	30	31															
	June								December								
			1	2	3	4	5						1	2	3	4	
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
	27	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31			

CALENDAR VI

1457	s	m	t	w	t	f	s	s	m	t	w	t	f	s
1463	<i>January</i>							<i>July</i>						
1474							I						I	2
1485	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1491	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	30	31						31						
	<i>February</i>							<i>August</i>						
			I	2	3	4	5		I	2	3	4	5	6
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	27	28						28	29	30	31			
	<i>March</i>							<i>September</i>						
			I	2	3	4	5					I	2	3
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	27	28	29	30	31			25	26	27	28	29	30	
	<i>April</i>							<i>October</i>						
						I	2							I
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
								30	31					
	<i>May</i>							<i>November</i>						
	I	2	3	4	5	6	7		I	2	3	4	5	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	29	30	31					27	28	29	30			
	<i>June</i>							<i>December</i>						
			I	2	3	4						I	2	3
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	26	27	28	29	30			25	26	27	28	29	30	31

CALENDAR VII

1458	s	m	t	w	t	f	s		s	m	t	w	t	f	s
1469	<i>January</i>								<i>July</i>						
1475	1	2	3	4	5	6	7								1
1486	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1497	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	29	30	31						23	24	25	26	27	28	29
									30	31					
	<i>February</i>								<i>August</i>						
			1	2	3	4				1	2	3	4	5	
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	26	27	28						27	28	29	30	31		
	<i>March</i>								<i>September</i>						
			1	2	3	4								1	2
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	26	27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	<i>April</i>								<i>October</i>						
							1		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29		29	30	31				
	30														
	<i>May</i>								<i>November</i>						
		1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	28	29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30		
	<i>June</i>								<i>December</i>						
				1	2	3								1	2
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	25	26	27	28	29	30			24	25	26	27	28	29	30
									31						

1476

s	m	t	w	t	f	s	s	m	t	w	t	f	s		
January							July								
	1	2	3	4	5	6			1	2	3	4	5	6	
7	8	9	10	11	12	13		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27		21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
28	29	30	31					28	29	30	31				
February							August								
			1	2	3						1	2	3		
4	5	6	7	8	9	10		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
18	19	20	21	22	23	24		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
25	26	27	28	29				25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
March							September								
					1	2			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	4	5	6	7	8	9		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
17	18	19	20	21	22	23		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
24	25	26	27	28	29	30		29	30						
31															
April							October								
	1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	5	
7	8	9	10	11	12	13		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27		20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
28	29	30						27	28	29	30	31			
May							November								
			1	2	3	4							1	2	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
12	13	14	15	16	17	18		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
19	20	21	22	23	24	25		17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
26	27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
June							December								
						1			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	3	4	5	6	7	8		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
16	17	18	19	20	21	22		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
23	24	25	26	27	28	29		29	30	31					
30															

CALENDAR IX

1460
1488

s m t w t f s

January

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19
20 21 22 23 24 25 26
27 28 29 30 31

February

1 2
3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16
17 18 19 20 21 22 23
24 25 26 27 28 29

March

1
2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20 21 22
23 24 25 26 27 28 29
30 31

April

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19
20 21 22 23 24 25 26
27 28 29 30

May

1 2 3
4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24
25 26 27 28 29 30 31

June

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30

s m t w t f s

July

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19
20 21 22 23 24 25 26
27 28 29 30 31

August

1 2
3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16
17 18 19 20 21 22 23
24 25 26 27 28 29 30
31

September

1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30

October

1 2 3 4
5 6 7 8 9 10 11
12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30 31

November

1
2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20 21 22
23 24 25 26 27 28 29
30

December

1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30 31

CALENDAR X

1472	s	m	t	w	t	f	s	s	m	t	w	t	f	s
1500	<i>January</i>							<i>July</i>						
				1	2	3	4				1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30	31		26	27	28	29	30	31	
	<i>February</i>							<i>August</i>						
							1							1
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
								30	31					
	<i>March</i>							<i>September</i>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	29	30	31					27	28	29	30			
	<i>April</i>							<i>October</i>						
				1	2	3	4					1	2	3
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	26	27	28	29	30			25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	<i>May</i>							<i>November</i>						
						1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	29	30					
	31													
	<i>June</i>							<i>December</i>						
		1	2	3	4	5	6			1	2	3	4	5
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	28	29	30					27	28	29	30	31		

CALENDAR XI

1456

1484

s m t w t f s

January

1 2 3
4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24
25 26 27 28 29 30 31

February

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29

March

1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30 31

April

1 2 3
4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24
25 26 27 28 29 30

May

1
2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20 21 22
23 24 25 26 27 28 29
30 31

June

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19
20 21 22 23 24 25 26
27 28 29 30

s m t w t f s

July

1 2 3
4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24
25 26 27 28 29 30 31

August

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30 31

September

1 2 3 4
5 6 7 8 9 10 11
12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30

October

1 2
3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16
17 18 19 20 21 22 23
24 25 26 27 28 29 30
31

November

1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30

December

1 2 3 4
5 6 7 8 9 10 11
12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30 31

CALENDAR XII

1468	s	m	t	w	t	f	s	s	m	t	w	t	f	s
1496	<i>January</i>							<i>July</i>						
						1	2						1	2
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	31							31						
	<i>February</i>							<i>August</i>						
		1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	28	29						28	29	30	31			
	<i>March</i>							<i>September</i>						
			1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	27	28	29	30	31			25	26	27	28	29	30	
	<i>April</i>							<i>October</i>						
						1	2							1
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
								30	31					
	<i>May</i>							<i>November</i>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	29	30	31					27	28	29	30			
	<i>June</i>							<i>December</i>						
				1	2	3	4						1	2
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	26	27	28	29	30			25	26	27	28	29	30	31

CALENDAR XIII

1480

s m t w t f s

January

						I
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

February

			I	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
27	28	29					

March

				I	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
26	27	28	29	30	31		

April

							I
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
30							

May

		I	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
28	29	30	31				

June

				I	2	3	
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
25	26	27	28	29	30		

s m t w t f s

July

							I
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
30	31						

August

				I	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
27	28	29	30	31				

September

							I	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
24	25	26	27	28	29	30		

October

I	2	3	4	5	6	7		
8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
29	30	31						

November

				I	2	3	4	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
19	20	21	22	23	24	25		
26	27	28	29	30				

December

						I	2	
3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
31								

CALENDAR XIV

1464	s	m	t	w	t	f	s		s	m	t	w	t	f	s
1492	<i>January</i>								<i>July</i>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31						29	30	31				
	<i>February</i>								<i>August</i>						
				1	2	3	4					1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25		19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29					26	27	28	29	30	31	
	<i>March</i>								<i>September</i>						
					1	2	3								1
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29
									30						
	<i>April</i>								<i>October</i>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5	6
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	29	30							28	29	30	31			
	<i>May</i>								<i>November</i>						
				1	2	3	4	5					1	2	3
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	27	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	
	<i>June</i>								<i>December</i>						
						1	2								1
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		23	24	25	26	27	28	29
									30	31					

Table 3

I

TERMS OFTEN FOUND IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COLOPHONS

altera	next
antepenultimo	the last but two (<i>i.e.</i> the antepenult of April is April 28th)
crastino	next day after
feria	day, feast day
feria prima	Sunday
feria secunda	Monday
feria tertia	Tuesday
feria quarta	Wednesday
feria quinta	Thursday
feria sexta	Friday
feria septima	Saturday
octava	week
penultimo	the last but one
postera	coming after, following
pridie	day before
profesto	eve of, day before
proxima	nearest
ultimo	last

II

VARIOUS SPELLINGS OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK

Monday	die lunae, feria secunda, Mandage, Mandaghe, Mondag
Tuesday	die Martis, feria tertia, Aftermontag, Dienstag, Dinstag, Dinxtag, Dynxtag, Zinstag, Zystag
Wednesday	die Mercurii, feria quarta, Midweken, Mitwuchen, Myddewekes
Thursday	die Jovis, feria quinta, Donnerdage, Dornstag, Dunnerstage, Pfincztag, Pfintztag
Friday	die Veneris, feria sexta, Fridach, Vridage
Saturday	die Saturni, Sabbatus, feria septima, Sabbatio, Sambstag, Sampstag, Saterdaghe, Satredaghes, Sonnabend, Sonnavende, Sonnewende
Sunday	Dominica, feria prima, Sondach, Sonntag, Suntag

Table 4

EASTER DAY, 1458-1501

1458	April 2	*1480	April 2
1459	March 25	1481	April 22
*1460	April 13	1482	April 7
1461	April 5	1483	March 30
1462	April 18	*1484	April 18
1463	April 10	1485	April 3
*1464	April 1	1486	March 26
1465	April 14	1487	April 15
1466	April 6	*1488	April 6
1467	March 29	1489	April 19
*1468	April 17	1490	April 11
1469	April 2	1491	April 3
1470	April 22	*1492	April 22
1471	April 14	1493	April 7
*1472	March 29	1494	March 30
1473	April 18	1495	April 19
1474	April 10	*1496	April 3
1475	March 26	1497	March 26
*1476	April 14	1498	April 15
1477	April 6	1499	March 31
1478	March 22	*1500	April 19
1479	April 11	1501	April 11

*Table 5*DATES FOR THE MOVABLE FESTIVALS
DEPENDENT UPON EASTER, 1458-1501

Adventus	cf. Column XXII
Ascensio domini	cf. Column XVII
Cantata	cf. Column XV
Cinerum dies	cf. Column V
Corpus Christi	cf. Column XXI
Estomihi	cf. Column III
Exaudi Domine	cf. Column XVIII
Exsurge	cf. Column II
Invocavit	cf. Column VI
Jubilate	cf. Column XIV
Judica	cf. Column X
Laetare	cf. Column IX
* leap year	

Misericordia	cf. Column XIII
Occuli	cf. Column VIII
Palmtag	cf. Column XI
Pentecost	cf. Column XIX
Quasimodo geniti	cf. Column XII
Reminiscere	cf. Column VII
Septuagesima	cf. Column I
Trinitas	cf. Column XX
Vastnacht	cf. Column IV
Vocem jocunditatis	cf. Column XVI

<i>Easter</i>	I <i>Septuagesima</i>	II <i>Exsurge</i>	III <i>Estomihi</i>	IV <i>Vastnacht</i>
March 22	January 18	January 25	February 1	February 3
March 25	" 21	" 28	" 4	" 6
March 26	" 22	" 29	" 5	" 7
March 29	" 25	February 1	" 8	" 10
*March 29	" *26	" *2	" *9	" *11
March 30	" 26	" 2	" 9	" 11
March 31	" 27	" 3	" 10	" 12
*April 1	" *29	" *5	" *12	" *14
April 2	" 29	" 5	" 12	" 14
*April 2	" *30	" *6	" *13	" *15
April 3	" 30	" 6	" 13	" 15
*April 3	" *31	" *7	" *14	" *16
April 5	February 1	" 8	" 15	" 17
April 6	" 2	" 9	" 16	" 18
*April 6	" *3	" *10	" *17	" *19
April 7	" 3	" 10	" 17	" 19
April 10	" 6	" 13	" 20	" 22
April 11	" 7	" 14	" 21	" 23
*April 13	" *10	" *17	" *24	" *26
April 14	" 10	" 17	" 24	" 26
*April 14	" *11	" *18	" *25	" *27
April 15	" 11	" 18	" 25	" 27
*April 17	" *14	" *21	" *28	March *1
April 18	" 14	" 21	" 28	" 2
*April 18	" *15	" *22	" *29	" *2
April 19	" 15	" 22	March 1	" 3
*April 19	" *16	" *23	" *1	" *3
April 22	" 18	" 25	" 4	" 6
*April 22	" *19	" *26	" *4	" *6

* leap year

	V	VI	VII	VIII
<i>Easter</i>	<i>Cinerum Dies</i>	<i>Invocavit</i>	<i>Reminiscere</i>	<i>Occuli</i>
March 22	February 4	February 8	February 15	February 22
March 25	" 7	" 11	" 18	" 25
March 26	" 8	" 12	" 19	" 26
March 29	" 11	" 15	" 22	March 1
*March 29	" *12	" *16	" *23	" *1
March 30	" 12	" 16	" 23	" 2
March 31	" 13	" 17	" 24	" 3
*April 1	" *15	" *19	" *26	" *4
April 2	" 15	" 19	" 26	" 5
*April 2	" *16	" *20	" *27	" *5
April 3	" 16	" 20	" 27	" 6
*April 3	" *17	" *21	" *28	" *6
April 5	" 18	" 22	March 1	" 8
April 6	" 19	" 23	" 2	" 9
*April 6	" *20	" *24	" *2	" *9
April 7	" 20	" 24	" 3	" 10
April 10	" 23	" 27	" 6	" 13
April 11	" 24	" 28	" 7	" 14
*April 13	" *27	March *2	" *9	" *16
April 14	" 27	" 3	" 10	" 17
*April 14	" *28	" *3	" *10	" *17
April 15	" 28	" 4	" 11	" 18
*April 17	March *2	" *6	" *13	" *20
April 18	" 3	" 7	" 14	" 21
April 19	" 4	" 8	" 15	" 22
April 22	" 7	" 11	" 18	" 25

	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
<i>Easter</i>	<i>Laetare</i>	<i>Judica</i>	<i>Palmtag</i>	<i>Quasimodo Geniti</i>	<i>Miseri- cordia</i>
March 22	March 1	March 8	March 15	March 29	April 5
March 25	" 4	" 11	" 18	April 1	" 8
March 26	" 5	" 12	" 19	" 2	" 9
March 29	" 8	" 15	" 22	" 5	" 12
March 30	" 9	" 16	" 23	" 6	" 13
March 31	" 10	" 17	" 24	" 7	" 14
April 1	" 11	" 18	" 25	" 8	" 15
April 2	" 12	" 19	" 26	" 9	" 16

* leap year

April 3	" 13	" 20	" 27	" 10	" 17
April 5	" 15	" 22	" 29	" 12	" 19
April 6	" 16	" 23	" 30	" 13	" 20
April 7	" 17	" 24	" 31	" 14	" 21
April 10	" 20	" 27	April 3	" 17	" 24
April 11	" 21	" 28	" 4	" 18	" 25
April 13	" 23	" 30	" 6	" 20	" 27
April 14	" 24	" 31	" 7	" 21	" 28
April 15	" 25	April 1	" 8	" 22	" 29
April 17	" 27	" 3	" 10	" 24	May 1
April 18	" 28	" 4	" 11	" 25	" 2
April 19	" 29	" 5	" 12	" 26	" 3
April 22	April 1	" 8	" 15	" 29	" 6

	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
<i>Easter</i>	<i>Jubilare</i>	<i>Cantata</i>	<i>Vocem Jo-</i> <i>cunditatis</i>	<i>Ascensio</i> <i>Domini</i>	<i>Exaudi</i> <i>Domine</i>
March 22	April 12	April 19	April 26	April 30	May 3
March 25	" 15	" 22	" 29	May 3	" 6
March 26	" 16	" 23	" 30	" 4	" 7
March 29	" 19	" 26	May 3	" 7	" 10
March 30	" 20	" 27	" 4	" 8	" 11
March 31	" 21	" 28	" 5	" 9	" 12
April 1	" 22	" 29	" 6	" 10	" 13
April 2	" 23	" 30	" 7	" 11	" 14
April 3	" 24	May 1	" 8	" 12	" 15
April 5	" 26	" 3	" 10	" 14	" 17
April 6	" 27	" 4	" 11	" 15	" 18
April 7	" 28	" 5	" 12	" 16	" 19
April 10	May 1	" 8	" 15	" 19	" 22
April 11	" 2	" 9	" 16	" 20	" 23
April 13	" 4	" 11	" 18	" 22	" 25
April 14	" 5	" 12	" 19	" 23	" 26
April 15	" 6	" 13	" 20	" 24	" 27
April 17	" 8	" 15	" 22	" 26	" 29
April 18	" 9	" 16	" 23	" 27	" 30
April 19	" 10	" 17	" 24	" 28	" 31
April 22	" 13	" 20	" 27	" 31	June 3

	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII
<i>Easter</i>	<i>Pentecost</i>	<i>Trinitas</i>	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	<i>Adventus</i>
March 22	May 10	May 17	May 21	November 29
March 25	" 13	" 20	" 24	December 2
March 26	" 14	" 21	" 25	" 3
March 29	" 17	" 24	" 28	November 29
March 30	" 18	" 25	" 29	" 30
March 31	" 19	" 26	" 30	December 1
April 1	" 20	" 27	" 31	" 2
April 2	" 21	" 28	June 1	" 3
April 3	" 22	" 29	" 2	November 27
April 5	" 24	" 31	" 4	" 29
April 6	" 25	June 1	" 5	" 30
April 7	" 26	" 2	" 6	December 1
April 10	" 29	" 5	" 9	November 27
April 11	" 30	" 6	" 10	" 28
April 13	June 1	" 8	" 12	" 30
April 14	" 2	" 9	" 13	December 1
April 15	" 3	" 10	" 14	" 2
April 17	" 5	" 12	" 16	November 27
April 18	" 6	" 13	" 17	" 28
April 19	" 7	" 14	" 18	" 29
April 22	" 10	" 17	" 21	December 2

Conclusion

By using these tables any date in the German style may now be interpreted in terms of our modern calendar with a minimum of effort. I expressed the hope earlier in this paper that these tables might be used advantageously as a means of checking the accuracy of dates in the German style that have been interpreted by the bibliographers. To illustrate just what I mean I have compiled a short list of some German dates that have been variously stated by the bibliographers.

<i>Author, title, imprint</i>	<i>Textual date</i>	<i>Dates given by the bibliographers</i>	<i>Verified date</i>
MARTINUS POLONUS: Margaritha decreti. Strassburg: [printer of the <i>Jordanus</i>] 1486.	in die sancti Egidii.	BMC ¹³ I 135: 1 Nov. Burg: 1 Sept. Pr 607: 1 Nov.	1 Sept.
MODUS LEGENDI ABBREVIATURAS. Strassburg: [printer of the <i>Jordanus</i>] 1488.	altera die post festū sancti Matthie apostoli.	BMC I 137: 3 Mar. Burg: 3 Mar. Pol 2752: 3 Mar. Pr 615: 3 Mar.	26 Feb.
ARISTOTELES: Parva naturalia. Cologne: Koelhoff, 1491.	in vigilia scissimo ²⁴ ap ^o Simonis et Iude.	BMC I 230: 30 Apr. Burg: 27 Oct. GW 2428: 27 Oct. Pr 1085: 30 Apr. VK 159: 30 Apr.	27 Oct.
FERRARIUS, Vincentius: Sermones. Nuremberg: Koberger, 1492.	vigilia beato ²⁴ Petri ꝛ Pauli ap ^o 24.	BMC II 435: 29 June Burg: 28 June Pol 3955: 28 June Pr 2074: 29 June	28 June
DARES: Historia Troiana. [Leipzig: Landsberg, 1488.]	in pfesto dive Margarete virginis.	BMC III 641: 19 July GW 7991: 12 July Pr 2951: 19 July	12 July
BREVIARIUM. Nuremberg: Stuchs, 1500.	in vigilia sc ⁱ Mathie apostoli.	Burg: 24 Feb. GW 5188: 23 Feb.	24 Feb.
SCHRICK: Von den ausgebrannten Wassern. Augsburg: Bämle, 1477.	Am m̃antag vor aller heyligen tag.	BMC II 336: 25 Oct. Klebs 895.1: 25 Oct.	27 Oct.
VOCABULARIUS EX QUO. Nuremberg: Zeninger, 1480.	Sabbato ante nativitatis xp̃i.	BMC II 460: 23 Dec. Burg: 24 Dec. Pr 2228: 24 Dec.	23 Dec.

¹³ BMC *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum, 1908-1937.*

Burg Burger, Konrad, *Printers and Publishers of the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1902.

GW *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig, 1925-.

Klebs Klebs, Arnold C., *Incunabula Scientifica et Medica*, Bruges, 1938.

Pol Polain, M.-Louis, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des Bibliothèques de Belgique*, Brussels, 1932.

Pr Proctor, Robert, *An index to the early printed books in the British Museum, 1898-1903.*

VK Voulliéme, Ernst, *Der Buchdruck Kölns*, Bonn, 1903.

SEPTEM SAPIENTES ROMAE (German). Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1488.	Montag nach sant Bartho- lomeus tag.	BMC II 366: 28 Aug. Burg: 28 Aug. Klebs 907.9: 28 Aug. Pr 1769: 28 Aug.	25 Aug.
JACOBUS de Theramo: Belial. Augsburg: Sorg, 1481.	feria sexta post Ascen- sionis dñi.	Burg: 6 June	1 June
GUIDO de Monte Rocherii: Manipulus curatorum. Co- logne: Koelhoff, 1487.	in vigilia re- surrectionis dominice.	BMC I 227: 5 Apr. Burg: 14 Apr. VK 519: 5 Apr.	14 Apr.
SAVONAROLA: Expositio super psalmo: Miserere mei Deus (German). Nuremberg: Wagner, 1498.	In vigilia As- censionis dñi.	Burg: 7 May	23 May

By studying the third column of this table, the conclusion that one bibliographer frequently accepted the date as interpreted by another bibliographer without verification is apparent. An excellent case in point is the 1491 edition of Aristotle. Proctor probably confusing *Simon et Juda* with *Philippus et Jacobus* gave the date as April 30th. Both Voulliéme and the British Museum adopted Proctor's date, which Burger in his list correctly gave as October 27th. The cataloguer of incunabula, however, in attempting to ascertain the correct date of this imprint is in a quandary. The purpose of the present study has been to establish a procedure by which this cataloguer may make for himself a correct decision in disputed cases, verify generally accepted datings, or make exact interpretations of colophons and manuscript inscriptions not previously examined by the bibliographers.

Appendix A

THE classical Roman terminology of the Julian calendar that was applied for literary purposes during the fifteenth century is essentially quite simple. The twelve months of the calendar bore their present names although the alternate forms for July and August — Quintilis and Sextilis — are sometimes found in fifteenth-century colophons. The month itself had three principal divisions, the *calends*, the *ides*, and the *nones*. The days of the month were reckoned backwards rather than forwards. Thus the 19th calends of February is the 14th of January; the 18th calends of February is the 15th of January; etc. Another significant feature to bear in mind is the Roman method of dating inclusively, that is, in counting backwards from the calends, or first day of the month, for example, the numbering begins with that day. Thus the 3rd calends of May is the 29th of April. Or, to put it differently, the day which precedes the calends, or ides, or nones of any month is counted as *pridie* (or second) calends, or ides, or nones, never as the first.¹⁴ Hence, the 31st of January is *pridie* calends of February; the 30th of January is the 3rd calends of February, etc.

To avoid a complicated and wordy explanation of how and when each of the divisions of this calendar was used in dating, a simplified table has been compiled and a few illustrations of each have been added.

Calends

(The first day of each month)

Thus in counting:

3 calends January is 30th December

19 calends September is 14th August

Ides

(The 13th of all months except March, May, July, and

October, in which the Ides fell on the 15th)

Thus in counting:

3 ides January is 11th January

3 ides March is 13th March

Nones

(The ninth day before the Ides)

Thus in counting:

4 nones January is 2nd January

6 nones May is 2nd May

¹⁴ Reichling (Supplement) 201 interprets the interesting date, "Primo Chalendas Decembris" 1477, as November 30th. I prefer, however, to treat *Chalendas* as having appositive force.

There is, however, a further complication of this calendar which is introduced by a leap year wherein February is given twenty-nine days. The additional day in the Roman year was inserted not at the end of the month, but either on or after the 6th of the calends of March, the 24th of February. I have been unable to ascertain whether this added day, called the *bissexile* of the calends of March, occurred on the 24th or the 25th of February, but in any event the 7th calends of March in the Roman calendar is *always* February 23rd. The first twenty-three days of the month of February in the Roman calendar remain the same regardless of the leap year. I have found three instances in the British Museum Catalogue where the compilers neglected to take this into consideration.¹⁵

Oftentimes books dated according to the Roman calendar introduce a disconcerting factor which in all instances cannot be satisfactorily explained. By way of illustration, the colophon of Hain *8131¹⁶ states that the book was printed on the 15th calends of January in the year 1489. In attempting to solve the date, the disturbing element is soon evident. Was the book printed on December 18, 1488, or on December 18, 1489? Dr. Konrad Burger in his list preferred the former interpretation, while Robert Proctor on rather convincing evidence accepted the year date as it actually appeared.¹⁷

Proctor's version is correct with regard to the example cited, since according to the British Museum Catalogue,¹⁸ the use of types in this particular edition makes 1489 a more accurate date than 1488. Whenever as a matter of fact it has been possible to check with supplementary evidence, Proctor's interpretation holds true. Therefore as Proctor found in compiling his index only one doubtful exception — Hain *9452¹⁹ — which upon a reexamination of the material the British Museum Catalogue²⁰ has de-

¹⁵ The British Museum Catalogue on page 491 of their second volume in describing Hain *1599 considers the date "Octauo Kalē. Marcii" in 1480 as the 23rd (instead of 22nd) of February; likewise on page 770 of their third volume the date "Duodecimo vero kalē Martii in 1492 (Hain *10197) is considered as the 19th (instead of 18th) of February; on page 309 of their fifth volume the date "ix cal'. Martii" 1492 (Hain 1611) is considered as the 22nd (instead of the 21st) of February.

¹⁶ Op. cit., vol. I, pt. 2, p. 536.

¹⁷ Proctor, op. cit., vol. I, p. 16. Proctor's phraseology in describing his procedure is ambiguous, but the illustrations he cites indicate his point.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of Fifteenth-Century Books*, vol. III, 671.

¹⁹ Op. cit., vol. II, pt. 1, p. 165.

²⁰ Op. cit., vol. VII, p. xlix.

cided cannot be an exception, and but one genuine exception,²¹ I think it may be stated that unless there is satisfactory evidence that the year date is incorrect, one should give it as it actually appears in the colophon.

ROMAN CALENDAR

January	See Calendar A
February	See Calendar B
March	See Calendar C
April	See Calendar D
May	See Calendar C
June	See Calendar D
July	See Calendar C
August	See Calendar A
September	See Calendar D
October	See Calendar C
November	See Calendar D
December	See Calendar A

²¹ This exception is found in an edition of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*, printed at Louvain by Jan Veldener. The date in the colophon reads: "1476 quarto kalendas Januarias secundum stilum romanae curiae." As it was the custom of the Roman Curia to begin the year on December 25th, the correct date for this edition is December 29, 1475.

Calendar A

January — August — December

1	Kalendis Januarii (Augusti, Decembris)
2	IV Nonas " " "
3	III " " " "
4	Pridie Nonas Januarii (Augusti, Decembris)
5	Nonis Januarii (Augusti, Decembris)
6	VIII Idus Januarii (Augusti, Decembris)
7	VII " " " "
8	VI " " " "
9	V " " " "
10	IV " " " "
11	III " " " "
12	Pridie Idus Januarii (Augusti, Decembris)
13	Idibus Januarii (Augusti, Decembris)
14	XIX Kalendas Februarii (Septembris, Januarii)
15	XVIII " " " "
16	XVII " " " "
17	XVI " " " "
18	XV " " " "
19	XIV " " " "
20	XIII " " " "
21	XII " " " "
22	XI " " " "
23	X " " " "
24	IX " " " "
25	VIII " " " "
26	VII " " " "
27	VI " " " "
28	V " " " "
29	IV " " " "
30	III " " " "
31	Pridie Kalendas Februarii (Septembris, Januarii)

Calendar B

February

1	Kalendis Februarii
2	IV Nonas "
3	III " "
4	Pridie Nonas Februarii
5	Nonis Februarii
6	VIII Idus Februarii
7	VII " "
8	VI " "
9	V " "
10	IV " "
11	III " "
12	Pridie Idus Februarii
13	Idibus Februarii
14	XVI Kalendas Martii
15	XV " "
16	XIV " "
17	XIII " "
18	XII " "
19	XI " "
20	X " "
21	IX " "
22	VIII " "
23	VII " "
24	VI " "
25	V " "
26	IV " "
27	III " "
28	Pridie Kalendas Martii
29	

LEAP YEAR

(1456, 1460, 1464, 1468,
1472, 1476, 1480, 1484,
1488, 1492, 1496, 1500.)

VI (*or bissexto*) Kalendas Martii²²
 VI (*or bissexto*) " "
 V Kalendas Martii
 IV " "
 III " "
 Pridie Kalendas Martii

²² A fifteenth-century colophon which contains this date is to be found in Hain *6239 (Op. cit., vol. I, pt. 2, p. 246).

Calendar C

March — May — July — October

1	Kalendis Martii (Maii, Julii, Octobris)
2	VI Nonas " " " "
3	V " " " " "
4	IV " " " " "
5	III " " " " "
6	Pridie Nonas Martii (Maii, Julii, Octobris)
7	Nonis Martii (Maii, Julii, Octobris)
8	VIII Idus Martii (Maii, Julii, Octobris)
9	VII " " " " "
10	VI " " " " "
11	V " " " " "
12	IV " " " " "
13	III " " " " "
14	Pridie Idus Martii (Maii, Julii, Octobris)
15	Idibus Martii (Maii, Julii, Octobris)
16	XVII Kalendas Aprilis (Junii, Augusti, Novembris)
17	XVI " " " " "
18	XV " " " " "
19	XIV " " " " "
20	XIII " " " " "
21	XII " " " " "
22	XI " " " " "
23	X " " " " "
24	IX " " " " "
25	VIII " " " " "
26	VII " " " " "
27	VI " " " " "
28	V " " " " "
29	IV " " " " "
30	III " " " " "
31	Pridie Kalendas Aprilis (Junii, Augusti, Novembris)

Calendar D

April — June — September — November

1	Kalendis Aprilis (Junii, Septembris, Novembris)
2	IV Nonas " " " "
3	III " " " " "
4	Pridie Nonas Aprilis (Junii, Septembris, Novembris)
5	Nonis Aprilis (Junii, Septembris, Novembris)
6	VIII Idus Aprilis (Junii, Septembris, Novembris)
7	VII " " " " "
8	VI " " " " "
9	V " " " " "
10	IV " " " " "
11	III " " " " "
12	Pridie Idus Aprilis (Junii, Septembris, Novembris)
13	Idibus Aprilis (Junii, Septembris, Novembris)
14	XVIII Kalendas Maii (Julii, Octobris, Decembris)
15	XVII " " " " "
16	XVI " " " " "
17	XV " " " " "
18	XIV " " " " "
19	XIII " " " " "
20	XII " " " " "
21	XI " " " " "
22	X " " " " "
23	IX " " " " "
24	VIII " " " " "
25	VII " " " " "
26	VI " " " " "
27	V " " " " "
28	IV " " " " "
29	III " " " " "
30	Pridie Kalendas Maii (Julii, Octobris, Decembris)

NOTES: (a) Do not confuse *nonae* (nones) with *nonus, a, um* (nine). (b) Impossible dates which appear to be given according to the Roman calendar require especial attention, and their solution is not always satisfactory. As an example consider the colophon of Hain *5434, which contains the phrase "xx kalendas Apriles." If this date is not a typographical error, it is open to two interpretations — March 13 or April 20 — both of which are acceptable.

Appendix B

COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR DURING THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY²³

IN addition to our modern style of beginning the year with January 1st — the style of the Circumcision — four different practices were in use during the period with which we are concerned, namely, the styles which dated from March 1st, Easter, Christmas, and the Annunciation. Beginning the year with March 1st was the official practice in Venice from very early times down to 1797²⁴ and was accordingly called “more veneto.” As Mr. Scholderer²⁵ has pointed out, this custom “requires all dates in January or February of a given year to be thrown one year forward in order to adjust them to our usage.”

Although dating “more veneto” was the official practice at Venice, one finds on closer examination that this mode of dating was not always followed by the Venetian printers who quite often dated their work according to the civil or common year which began on January 1st. To select an illustration at random: Hain 1200a,²⁶ printed by Maximus de Butricis on January 23, 1492, cannot have been printed in 1493 since Maximus names Innocent VIII as the ruling Pope in the colophon. As Innocent VIII died in July, 1492, it seems evident that Maximus was beginning his year with January 1st.

Fortunately evidence is often present which enables one to determine whether a Venetian printer began his year on January 1st or on March 1st. This evidence is of two main types,—typographical and chronological. In the former grouping, by a careful analysis of types used by a particular printer such as the British Museum Catalogue undertakes, it is often possible to determine the dates during which a certain type was in use. For example Lazarus de Soardis printed an edition of Vergil's *Opera* in 1491 on the third of the nones of January. Since this edition has a close typographic connection with an edition of Ovid's *Opera*, which has the date April 1, 1492, it is reasonable to suppose that the date of the Vergil is really January 3, 1492 (written as January 3, 1491/92), and that in this instance the printer was dating “more veneto.” This is just one of a good

²³ For the best general account, cf. Reginald L. Poole, “The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages” in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. X, 1921, and reprinted in Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History*, Oxford, 1934, pp. 1-27.

²⁴ *British Museum Cat.*, vol. V, p. x.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. 1, p. 590.

many illustrations which can be found to show the value of type in date-determination.

In the latter grouping, evidence of perhaps a more valid sort is often found in the colophon itself which serves as a valuable means of verification. The colophon mentioned above which contains the name of Innocent VIII belongs in this group.²⁷ Other pertinent examples are presented by the Venetian colophons which name the ruling Doge.²⁸ This politic practice of naming the Popes and the Doges was quite widely used; and for this reason I have included among the tables a list of the Popes, who ruled from 1447 to 1503, and a list of the Doges of Venice covering the years 1462 to 1521 (cf. Tables I and II).

Using such available evidence, we now know that certain Venetian printers consistently dated according to "more veneto" (cf. Table III: 1), while others dated in the modern manner (cf. Table III: 2). The remaining Venetian printers, in the majority, were either indifferent to styles of dating and used both styles interchangeably,²⁹ or else they present no evidence as to their mode of dating and remain unclassifiable.

Beginning the year with Easter Day enjoyed general usage in France. This style of commencing the year is called "more gallicano." In order to adjust dates in the French manner to our usage, we must throw ahead one year all dates between January 1st and Easter Sunday in any given year. According to the style of the Nativity, the year commenced with December 25th, thereby requiring a date between the 24th of December and the 1st of January of any given year to be thrown back a year. This mode of dating was not very widely used although one finds isolated instances of dates in this fashion. The colophon of Hain *13246³⁰ provides us with a good illustration of a date in this fashion. It reads: "M.CCCC.LXXIII. die iouis ultima decembris." Since Thursday, *die iouis*, fell on December 31st

²⁷ In this connection it might be well to point out that those editions devoted to papal publications usually state in which year of a Pope's reign the work was published and printed. This practice presents a very valuable check on the printers' dates.

²⁸ Hain *6189 (vol. I, pt. 2, p. 257) provides a very good illustration. The colophon of this book, dated January 31, 1476, mentions that the volume was printed during the reign of Doge Andrea Vendramini. Since the latter did not become Doge until March, 1476, the date of printing must be January 31, 1476/77.

²⁹ Aldus Manutius, Romanus certainly belongs in this group along with Joannes Tacuinus, Joannes and Albertinus Rubeus, etc. For a special study of Aldine imprints, cf. R. C. Christie, "The Chronology of Early Aldines" in *Bibliographica*, I, pp. 193 ff.

³⁰ Op. cit., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 138.

in 1472 but not in 1473, it is evident that this edition was dated according to the style of the Nativity and that the date is really December 31, 1472.

Commencing the year with March 25th follows the style of the Annunciation. This mode of dating was used both at Pisa and at Florence, but with one very significant difference, the year date at Pisa being one year ahead of that at Florence. Thus at Pisa, official dates between March 24th and January 1st should be thrown back one year in order to make them coincide with our year calendar. There is no evidence, however, that any of the fifteenth-century printers at work in Pisa adopted this official style of dating in the colophons of their publications. At Florence and at other Italian towns which used the Florentine reckoning dates between December 31st and March 25th should be thrown one year ahead. Many Florentine and other Italian printers used this style of dating in their colophons, but any generalizations are impossible.

Because of the variant practices of beginning the year on differing dates at different places in Italy, I have compiled a list in so far as it was possible of those Italian towns which had printing presses during the fifteenth century and the official style of dating that was in vogue in each one. This list is contained in Table IV, which offers additional notes on the commencement of the year during the fifteenth century. One significant qualification, however, is necessary here. The fifteenth-century printer did not necessarily follow the style of dating that was in vogue in the locality in which he printed. As Mr. Scholderer has well said in a letter to the author: "they were casual folk in the fifteenth century and cared even less about consistency than about accuracy."

Table I

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE POPES FROM THE
PERIOD 1447-1503⁸¹

Nicolaus V	6 March 1447-24 March 1455
	(Commenced the year in his bulls on March 25th)
Callistus III	8 April 1455-6 ⁸² August 1458
	(Commenced the year in his bulls on March 25th)

⁸¹ The dates of the Popes in this list are taken from the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. XII, p. 274; the styles of commencing the year as observed by each Pope come from Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History*, London [1838], p. 204-5.

⁸² Nicolas, *op. cit.*, gives: 8 August 1458.

Pius II	19 August 1458-15 August 1464 (Commenced the year in his bulls on Christmas Day, January 1st, and March 25th)
Paul II	31 ⁸⁸ August 1464-26 ⁸⁴ July 1471 (Commenced the year in his bulls on January 1st or March 25th)
Sixtus IV	9 ⁸⁵ August 1471-12 ⁸⁶ August 1484 (Commenced the year in his bulls on January 1st or March 25th)
Innocent VIII	29 August 1484-25 July 1492 (Commenced the year in his bulls on Christmas Day, January 1st, and March 25th)
Alexander VI	11 August 1492-18 August 1503 (Commenced the year in his great bulls on March 25th)

Table II

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE DOGES
OF VENICE, 1462-1521⁸⁷

Cristoforo Moro	12 May 1462-9 November 1471
Nicolo Tron	23 November 1471-28 July 1473
Nicolo Marcello	13 August 1473-1 December 1474
Pietro Mocenigo	14 December 1474-23 February 1476
Andrea Vendramini	5 ⁸⁸ March 1476-6 May 1478
Giovanni Mocenigo	18 May 1478-4 November 1485
Marco Barbarigo	19 November 1485-14 August 1486
Agostino Barbarigo	30 August 1486-20 September 1501
Leonardo Loredano	2 October 1501-22 July 1521

⁸³ A. Cappelli, *Chronologia e Calendario Perpetuo*, Milan, 1906, p. 79, gives: 30 August 1464.

⁸⁴ Nicolas, op. cit., p. 204, and Alfred W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons*, chap. viii, p. 271, give: 28 July 1471.

⁸⁵ Cappelli, op. cit., p. 79, gives: 10 August 1471.

⁸⁶ Nicolas, op. cit., and Pollard, op. cit., give: 13 August 1484.

⁸⁷ The dates of the Doges in this list are taken from Cappelli, op. cit., p. 373.

⁸⁸ Pollard, op. cit., gives: 6 March 1476.

Table III

I

VENETIAN PRINTERS WHO BEGAN THE
YEAR WITH MARCH 1ST⁸⁹

Georgius Arrivabenus
 Vincentius Benalius
 Dionysius Bertochus
 Matteo Capcasa
 Bernardinus de Choris
 Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis
 Bonetus Locatellus
 Paganinus de Paganinis
 Jacobus Pentius
 Philippus Pincius
 Petrus de Quarengiis
 Bernardinus Rizus
 Joannes Baptista Sessa
 Lazarus de Soardis
 Baptista de Tortis
 Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus

2

VENETIAN PRINTERS WHO BEGAN THE
YEAR WITH JANUARY 1ST⁸⁹

Simon Bevilaqua
 Maximus de Butricis
 Johannes Herbort
 Bernardinus Stagninus

⁸⁹ Both of these lists are based upon the conclusions of Mr. Scholderer to be found in the introduction to volume V of the *British Museum Catalogue*.

Table IV

NOTES ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR DURING
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN:⁴⁰

Germany	cf. Text, p. 18.
France	<i>More gallicano</i> , which reckoned the year from Easter, enjoyed general usage in France. Occasionally in the South, the year was begun on March 25th, and one finds instances particularly in Parisian imprints where a French printer began the year with January 1st.
Spain	In Spain the year commenced with Christmas Day.
England	The style of the Annunciation, which reckoned the year from March 25th, seems to have been regularly observed.
Italy	Here as we have suggested in the introduction the variety of styles of dating is so great that any general conclusions are impossible. In his <i>Cronologia e Calendario Perpetuo</i> , however, Cappelli has a rather full list of the styles of dating that were in vogue in many of the Italian towns during the fifteenth century. I have borrowed this list in so far as it is applicable to those towns which had printing presses during the last four decades of the century.

Bologna — December 25th
 Brescia — December 25th
 Colle di Valdelsa — March 25th
 Como — January 1st (after 1476)
 Cremona — March 25th
 Ferrara — December 25th
 Florence — March 25th
 Genoa — January 1st (after 1476)
 Lucca — December 25th
 Milan — January 1st
 Modena — December 25th
 Naples — March 25th
 Parma — March 25th
 Pavia — December 25th
 Piacenza — March 25th
 Pisa — March 25th, but dated a year ahead
 Reggio Emilia — January 1st
 Rome — January 1st
 Siena — March 25th, but dated a year ahead
 Venice — March 1st (cf. Introduction)
 Verona — December 25th

⁴⁰ These notes which must be regarded in a very general sense are based on the following works: R. L. Poole, "The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages" in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. X, 1921; A. W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons*, Chicago, 1905, Chapter VIII; Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History*, London [1838]; and A. Cappelli, *Cronologia e Calendario Perpetuo*, Milano, 1906.

THE PRINTERS OF STRASSBURG AND HUMANISM, FROM 1501 UNTIL THE ADVENT OF THE REFORMATION

By LEONA ROSTENBERG

AT the dawn of the sixteenth century two native sons returned to Strassburg. With the arrival of the genial satirist, Brant, and the earnest pedagogue, Wimpheling, humanism which had long flowered south of the Alps began to bear fruit in the Alsatian Vosges. The dry learning of the schoolmen was superseded by the dictates of the philologist, the couplets of the rhymster, and the prose of the reformer. To Strassburg flocked the poetaster and wit, the philosopher and grammarian. At Strassburg, "the silver city" of sunlit courts and gabled roofs, they united into a literary society praised by Erasmus as "a guild of muses and graces." At the feet of their muse they spun the fabric of a new literature and culled the letters of the past. At the impressoria, close to the cathedral square, close to the shops of the drapers and vintners, they besought the printers, equipped with type and ink, leather and boards.

A survey of printing in Strassburg from 1475 to 1500 indicates that one-sixth of the books published was of a humanistic character. With the deep penetration of classical learning into Germany during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, one half of the works issued represented the new thought. In short, humanistic stock had risen thirty-three per cent!

Yet, it would be fallacious to assume that all of the leading Strassburg printers of this period were personally interested in

the circulation of humanistic ideology. Many still supplied the annual calendars, the household pharmacopeiae, the *materia ecclesiastica*, and the abracadabra for the alchemist's shelf. The printer of these popular works, nevertheless, did not fail to include among his stock the new humanistic tracts. These, often best sellers, were wont to bring to his shop a wandering scholar, a venturesome cleric, or perhaps an aging patrician. It was not this general printer, however, who primarily fostered the cause of humanism. His interest in the cultural progress of the age was cursory, that of a business man whose first instinct was to profit materially rather than intellectually.

The actual dissemination of belles-lettres during the first twenty years of the century is to be ascribed to the specialist, the printer-humanist, who in many instances was a scholar, an author, and an associate of the learned. His interests led him to the meetings of the Literary Society and to the libraries of the rich. From his workshop exhaled the aura of classical dignity. His was no longer a simple press but a literary office, a *calcographia*. His books were no longer printed in the ancient town of Strassburg but in *Argentoratum*, the silver city, in *Argentinopolis*, the Vosgesian Hellas. With the Renaissance veneration for antiquity, its culture, its dress, its very household gods, the printer became the bibliopole who worked with "reeds of alloy" in this "noble city of the Helvetians."

From the presses on the *Helenagasse*, the *Platz St. Thomas*, and the stalls near the city-hall flowed the works of ancient and modern authors. Here the scholars might find the orations of Cicero, the odes of Horace, the verse of Virgil, and the comedies of Terence. Upon demand, he might obtain the necessary *Græco-Latin* dictionary to unravel the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius or the *Dialogues* of Lucian. At the printer's shop the lover of modern letters could procure the grammatical precepts of the Tübingen scholar, Brassicanus, the verse of the poet-laureate, Bebel, or the prose of Wimpheling. In preference, he might choose from the

writings of the greatest humanist, Erasmus. From 1501 through 1520 sixteen of his works, exclusive of his translation of the New Testament and his patristic editions, were published upon sixty-eight occasions.

The printer-specialist in Strassburg is represented in particular by two men, humanists in their own right. Matthias Schürer, Master of Arts from the University of Cracow, might well be called the Strassburg Aldus. Like the Venetian printer, he counted among his friends the celebrated Erasmus. Though not the founder of an academy, he was a member of the Literary Society. Though not a fluent master of Greek like the Roman Aldus, he claimed a knowledge of the language. Like the Neacademia at Venice, his press was the haunt of the learned and an exchange counter of belles-lettres.

Matthias Schürer who in the words of his compatriot, Beatus Rhenanus, "had been admitted to the rites of the muses" was born in Schlettstadt around 1470 where his father was a member of the magistracy. At an early age he attended the celebrated local school, while his university years were spent at far off Cracow. In 1491 he received his Bachelor's degree and three years later his Master's.

His whereabouts from the completion of his studies until the beginning of the new century are unknown. By 1501, however, he was assisting his cousin, the printer, Martin Flach, Junior, of Strassburg, as proofreader. Here the Cracow graduate worked under the pseudonym, Granarius, which might be interpreted as "dispenser of pabulum." In 1502 Schürer purchased the right of citizenship and promised to serve at "The Stilts," the corporation house of the printers. By 1508 he was able to open his own press which flourished until his death around March, 1520.

Schürer's position as a protagonist of humanism may be partially determined by his own learning praised by Erasmus as "uncommon." Although by no means an expert Hellenist, he knew Greek and in 1509 adopted a Greek motto as his first printing de-

vice. His knowledge of Latin is patent from the many forewords written for his publications and his own revelations about his readings in the classics. Having been reproved by Beatus Rhenanus for printing certain lascivious poems, he objected to this reprimand on the ground of classical precedent. "Let me advise the reader to pluck the roses from the thorns thereby imitating Virgil Maro. For did he not reply during his reading of Ennius that he was sifting gold from dung?"

Upon another occasion in answer to criticism that errors might lurk in a hastily revised edition, Schürer impatiently exclaimed, "Am I a two-eyed man or Argus, fabled by antiquity as having a head invested with one hundred eyes?"

Like many of the German humanists Schürer was well acquainted with the works of the patristic writers. In his foreword to the *Sermones* of St. Ephraim of Syria he included a brief biography of the saint's life based on a passage from Jerome's *Book of Illustrious Men*. With deep reverence for the piety of the church fathers, he commented to his friend Martin Ergersheim of Schlettstadt, "What can be heard sweeter or more fervent than the words of St. Cyprian or Leo, the pontiff of Rome?"

Schürer's erudition was well known among his circle of friends which included Erasmus, Wimpheling, Beatus Rhenanus, and Nicolas Gerbel, scholar of Baden. In 1514 Erasmus made his second visit to Strassburg. He was fêted by the Literary Society and hailed by its poet laureate as the son of Apollo nourished by Minerva. After his departure he expressed his fondness for Schürer. "Did I not love my Matthias greatly, I would be justly said to bear iron and steel in my heart. There is nothing I would not do for him."

To Wimpheling Schürer was a dear and loved townsman, a learned, upright and honorable man. Tokens of praise came daily from Beatus Rhenanus for his sweet and gentle Matthias. In Gerbel's opinion Schürer's happy genius was ever eager to aid the scholarly world.

Schürer's services to humanism are attested by his splendidly revised editions of ancient and contemporary writings. During its first year his press issued eleven works, of which seven were humanistic. When the Schürer house reached its apogee in 1516, thirty-five books were published of which thirty-three were of a classical nature. Aware of the reader's growing interest in humanism he reprinted certain books almost annually. The *Epistolae Proverbiales* of Faustus Andrelinus, Professor of Poetry at Paris, ran through six editions. Cicero's writings were issued eleven times, whereas the works of Erasmus were published upon fifty-seven occasions.

In his search for manuscripts Schürer ransacked libraries and received codices from abroad. In June, 1510, Rhenanus wrote to a friend that Schürer had been a'hunting in his library and had found "certain new poems concerning timely subjects." The reader of the *History* of Otto von Freising was not spared a recital of the printer's difficulties in obtaining the manuscript from the Monastery of the Sacred Trutbert in the Black Forest. Associates frequently begged Schürer to issue books in which they were personally interested. Wimpheling urged his friend to publish the *Dogma Moraliūm* of Jean Clichtove, the Aristotelian commentator, since in his opinion "the work would lend itself to the elimination of quarrels among young men." From Ulrich Zasius, the Freiburg jurist, came a copy of the *Declamationes* of Johann Oecolampadius with the recommendation that Schürer print it. "I pray you take care that this little tract be disseminated along with the other books you are wont to issue. For many, devoted to God within their cells and abroad in the world, will delight in it."

The numerous works crowding Schürer's office required the most careful editing. The headmaster of the Schlettstadt school remarked that Schürer's books were not disfigured by the multitudinous errors so characteristic of contemporary publications. Since it was impossible for the printer to accomplish the detailed

tasks of revision alone, he employed capable humanists who corrected and refined his texts.

His first assistant was the youthful Sebastian Murr, Junior, of Colmar who had studied at the University of Paris. From 1512 to 1514 he worked at the Schürer office as proofreader. His first assignment was the revision of Cicero's *Familiar Letters* to which he added the commentaries of the humanist printer, Ascensius, despite his confession that Schürer and he had considered them puerile. In 1513 Murr prefaced Schürer's third edition of the *De Duplici Copia* with a quatrain:

Oh studious reader seek this store of thought
Of brightest gold it has for you been wrought
Fluent, admirable, profound yet short
The learned truths the great Erasmus sought!

Nicolas Gerbel of Pforzheim was Schürer's most learned editor. Upon graduation from the University of Vienna, he worked for two of the largest Viennese publishing houses, Liebenthal-Singren and the brothers Alantsee. Later he visited Aldus at Venice and tarried at Bologna where he became a Doctor of Canon Law. In 1515 the young jurist arrived in Strassburg where his humanistic interests led him to the meetings of the Literary Society. Here he met Schürer and decided to assist the printer besides pleading cases at the ecclesiastical courts. Like Schürer, Gerbel was a friend of Erasmus and helped considerably with the editing of his works. As his preface to the *Lucubrationes* indicates, he was eager that the great savant's writings receive the most painstaking revision.

We have exercised the greatest care and endured whatever our physical strength could bear that nothing should be neglected or omitted. If we have overlooked anything do not hesitate to tell us, for we have seen nothing but the benefit of the work to students and the love with which Gerbel embraces his Erasmus.

Gerbel assisted Schürer not only with the revision of his Latin publications but with the editing of books in Greek type. The

first use of Greek type in Germany has been attributed by Robert Proctor either to Schürer or Johann Rhau of Wittenberg. In the colophon of his first Greek publication, the *Syntagma de Musis* of Lilius Gregorius Giralduus, issued in 1511, Schürer emphasized the fact that he had included the Greek lettering. On several occasions Gerbel praised his master's desire "to aid those longing for Hellenic eloquence." Although Schürer and he both knew Greek, the printer had in his employ by 1517 a Graecophilus who corrected the edition of the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius.

The splendid workmanship of Schürer's completed Latin and Greek publications evoked general praise. Erasmus, who never hesitated to pass scathing judgment upon the mercenary aspirations of contemporary printers, extolled Schürer as a man endowed with an innate love of the humanities ever ready to aid the scholarly world rather than his own moneybags. Beatus Rhenanus could not sufficiently laud his dear Schürer "to whom Germany owed a great deal for the books he had published." Henry Bebel believed that not only had the Strassburg printer benefited his fellow countrymen through his work but that his editions revealed more erudition than any of the recent French or Italian publications.

In the humanistic world of the sixteenth century Schürer served as a medium between the author and his public. He brought to the reader his favorite type of literature and sponsored new writers. It is of interest to observe that he introduced to Strassburg for the first time the works of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Faustus Andrelinus of Paris, Pomponius Laetus of Rome, and George of Trebizond.

Nor can there be little doubt that the circulation of Renaissance literature was influenced by Schürer. His publications were to be found on the shelves of the wealthy bibliophile and the libraries of the more modest. Of Schürer's publications, ninety-five per cent were in quarto and, in the words of an assistant, "of dimensions suitable to be carried about by the scholar." The size of an

average Strassburg edition before 1500 seldom exceeded 250 to 500 copies. The ordinary Schürer edition consisted of 1,000 copies. Hence the smaller format and the increased size of the edition tended to reduce the price. The first publication from Schürer's press, a collection of religious and philosophical tracts, was announced by the editor as "a work to be bought reasonably by students of belles-lettres." In 1463 Mentelin had sold a part of the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas for seven gulden and six years later realized the same price for St. Augustine's *City of God*. In 1515 Schürer was able to sell Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* for half a gulden and in 1518 a volume in folio brought him two gulden. Hence at popular prices could not Schürer's books "hold children from play and old men from the chimney corner?"

As an apprentice Schürer had expressed his ideals in printing. "I shall take care on my part to aid and to extend through the means of our press the realm of letters by publishing the most scholarly volumes of the most erudite men."

His motto of 1509, "Strengthen yourself rather than the things which belong to you," seems to indicate his attitude toward intellectual life. Man is to fortify himself with study rather than increase his material possessions. Schürer's ideal remained fixed. Gerbel declared that his master spared neither expense nor labor as long as he could benefit scholarship.

At the time of his death Schürer had published an odd 282 books of which 236 represented the varied aspects of the so-called classical revival. The position of this Strassburg printer among the protagonists of sixteenth century thought is unassailable. Primarily, he was a man of learning who enjoyed the friendship of the illustrious. His interest, unlike that of many contemporary printers, centered upon the circulation of humanistic books. He was the first printer in Strassburg and perhaps in all of Germany to employ Greek type successfully. It is not unlikely that his finely printed books, edited by able and conscientious scholars, heightened the demand for Renaissance literature. Deservedly Schürer

earned the tribute that he never ceased to produce books which increased the glory of the Fatherland.

Although Schürer was the preëminent printer of humanistic literature in Strassburg, he faced during his lifetime the competition of Johann Schott, the grandson of Mentelin, the "prototypographus" of Alsace. Like Schürer, Schott was a university man. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Heidelberg in 1493 and in 1497 attended lectures at the University of Basle. After a succession of different presses at Strassburg and Freiburg-im-Breisgau he established himself permanently in his native city at the Platz St. Thomas.

Schott, a friend of Wimpheling and the Hellenist, Ottomar Nachtigall, was a man of complex personality. Although rapacious in business, he was deeply pious. As the author of a small religious tract, he deplored the prevalence of sin and the general disregard of morality. "I would in light of the constant increase of sinful behavior that man render greater obedience and understand his duty toward God, his Creator, to Whom he owes his salvation."

Although Schott published but a small number of humanistic writings contrasted to the many issued by Schürer, his personal interest in the circulation of the classics warrants some discussion of his activities. The few prefaces which he wrote for his publications reveal his own erudition and above all his profound admiration for Virgil. In 1509 he composed the introduction for an edition of the *Aeneid* and four years later arranged a handbook of quotations selected from the writings of the great Mantuan. In his opinion, "the sacred verse of Maro was most instructive, highly adorned with all eloquence and all poetical art." Referring to the merits of Virgil, he exclaimed, "Were you given a thousand poets, could you point to his peer!"

Schott's interest in humanism is indicated by his use of Greek type which he introduced as a permanent part of his press four years later than Schürer. He employed the most expert linguist

of the city to edit his Greek texts. Ottomar Nachtigall, who preferred the Latin and Greek equivalents of his name, Luscinus and Aïdos, had studied Greek at Paris under Alexander Motta. When he returned to Strassburg he divided his time as organist at the Cathedral and assistant at Schott's press. During 1515 he edited the *Collectanea Sacrosancta*, a collection of religious and philosophical tracts partly translated into Latin. Schott, to whom the work was dedicated, published it in an edition of a thousand copies. In a brief preface the printer announced that this edition was not to be spurned by those desirous of learning Greek. This collection was followed by Schott's edition of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* translated from the Greek by Luscinus, who, in a dedicatory letter to Schott, urged him to continue his assistance to the literary world, as in the past. Until the outbreak of the Reformation Schott fulfilled his editor's request and published the writings of Roman, Greek, and modern humanistic authors.

This brief survey of the activities of Schürer and Schott reveals their reactions to the intellectual developments of the early sixteenth century. Their personal interest in humanism, their erudition, their circle of friends prompted them to issue works of the so-called classical revival. There is little doubt that the spread of humanistic culture in Strassburg was facilitated by Schürer and Schott. Since they, like their prototypes throughout the Empire, gave to the public books that awakened an interest in antiquity and heightened a faith in man, his virtù and social regeneration, it may be said without temerity that in the march of intellectual history the printer-humanist appeared in the vanguard!

REPORT OF PRESIDENT PALTSITS

To the Business Meeting of the Society
December 30, 1939*

WITH the close of this meeting I terminate my presidency of the Society to which I had been chosen *in absentia* at Kansas City, Missouri, in June, 1938. It was of course a surprise to me. I had not had even an inkling of it, and when information was casually conveyed to me by our former President, Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, later that month at Rutgers University's Commencement, it seemed incredible. But by mid-summer I had by an official notice an apprizement, and an awakening to the realization that a great job confronted me. At once plans were made for a meeting of the Council and its agenda; by correspondence it was found out that a quorum of the Council could be had on September 3rd, but of that meeting more hereafter. At once I addressed the members in the *News Sheet* of August 20th, and among other things, said: "I have without hesitancy accepted the call as a duty to work for the Society's expansion and to give service to the best of my ability to each of you, my fellow members. I want to know more of you, and I hope you will feel free to invoke any service I can give you." I trust now, as we look at the record, that the hopes expressed and the promises made have not been mere idle conventions.

It was my conviction that the officers and councillors elected by you were chosen to function. And because I always have believed that to function there must be conference and deliberation among those entrusted with a responsibility, I have been unwilling to have matters of finance, forming of contractual obligations,

* This is the full report of which only a part appeared in *News Sheet* No. 55.

or matters of policy to be decided by a mail vote. If opinion has been solicited by mail, the decisive action has always been taken by vote of a quorum sitting in Council. And this was done five times during this administration. Three times the Council met at Providence, once in New York, and only this week here in Washington. The meetings at Providence and New York, when begun in the morning, were extended into the hours of the afternoon, and only partly slowed-up during luncheons that were necessary to keep the mental fires burning.

Eighteen items were on the docket of the Council meeting of September 3, 1938. The typewritten stenographic minutes fill thirty-six pages. Dr. Wroth attended the Providence meetings to report as chairman of the Publication Committee and the Committee on the Second Census, and the Permanent Secretary sat at four meetings as auditor and to advise the Council. The regularization of the set-up of the *Second Census of Incunabula*, with inspection of the state of work accomplished and yet to be done, and financing it to completion, occupied the closest attention of the Council for nearly two hours. Nearly as much time was devoted to electing a Permanent Secretary, as required by the Society's action at its preceding annual meeting, and in discussing paragraph by paragraph the functions and duties of this new secretariat, as well as fixing upon the pay and expenses of that post; also to determine, as far as possible, the relations of the elected Secretary to the Permanent Secretary, in order to avoid duplication or misunderstanding. Other business transacted at this session of the Council has been reported in the *News Sheet*. It was at this meeting that I discovered it is the duty of the President to arrange the programs of meetings of the Society and solicit those who are to present papers. In about a month's time a program was completed for a joint session with the American Historical Association to be held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, on the afternoon of December 29, 1938. Five excellent papers were read at that session, which ended with a business meeting. An average of fifty

persons attended and Dr. Randolph G. Adams very kindly acted as Secretary pro-tem. I need not name the subjects of the papers read. You know them from announcements in the *News Sheet*, and the papers themselves will be available with others in the printed *Papers*, Volume 32 (1938) and Volume 33 (1939), both now off the press.

The next meeting of the Council was held at Providence on December 19, 1938. There were nineteen items on the docket. The Council deliberated economy in publications and storage of stock, and voted to transfer the Society's printing to The Southworth-Anthoensen Press of Portland, Maine, on the expiration of the contract with the University of Chicago Press. Means were provided for bringing together such of the archives of the Society as were never turned in by former Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers, or others. This has not yet eventuated in a sufficient response. I can assure the Society on this point, that, as an archivist, my presidential files will be turned over to the office of the Permanent Secretary intact and in proper order. Because the Society had never had a library worthy of the name, the Council voted that the misnamed "Library" be discontinued, and recommended the abolition of the office of "Librarian" by an amendment of Article III of the Constitution at the annual meeting in June, 1939 (*News Sheet*, No. 51-52, p. 3, col. 2). Action was taken for the disposal of the Society's surplus stock, and for speeding up the publications that were lagging behind, currently. A very important action taken was the amalgamating of funds held by the Treasurer into a fund to be hereafter known as the Publication Revolving Fund.

A meeting of the Council was held in New York on May 6, 1939, at which twenty items were considered. The Permanent Secretary reported a total membership of 540. This was a gratifying showing of increase of our number. He also by special pressure succeeded in bringing delinquent members up-to-date. The Council had sought a grant-in-aid from the American Council of

Learned Societies for publishing the *Second Census of Incunabula in America*. Not securing a grant, the Council voted to pay for publication out of our Publication Revolving Fund, and to expect reimbursement of that fund from sales of the said publication. Means were provided for speeding up the editing and proof-reading of the volume when in press. An item of importance and of economy to the Society was the abandoning of a contract that had been made some years ago with Dr. George Watson Cole for publishing a monograph on *Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual*. The Council delegated to the President to undertake negotiations with Mrs. Cole for bringing this abandonment about. It was a delicate matter for him to assume, because Dr. Cole, then too ill and irresponsible to negotiate for himself, and Mrs. Cole aged and not well, were both very close friends of the President and his wife. Both have since died, he in his ninetieth year and she in her ninety-second year of age. But these duties assigned to me by the Council were carried out kindly, and were completed satisfactorily for all concerned. The results are reported in our current *News Sheet*, Nos. 53-54, pp. 2-3.

One of the major reasons for the convening of the Council in May was to forward a meeting of the Society at San Francisco in June. This had already been voted and the President at great pains had been carrying on negotiations for having two sessions there in affiliation with the American Library Association. Our Second Vice President, Dr. Henry R. Wagner, of San Marino, California, generously agreed to saddle the burden of responsibility for organizing these sessions. The President coöperating with him, they together got up the program. Since no other officer or Councillor was to be present in San Francisco, the situation seemed embarrassing. As the time neared, Dr. Wagner discovered that he must come east to attend the fifty-fifth reunion of his class at Yale. So great a privilege nobody would deny him. Dr. Max Farrand had succumbed to the President's appeal to serve as Chairman of the Nominating Committee, to recommend

a ticket to the annual business meeting. This he effected with speed. When it became known that Dr. Wagner would not preside at San Francisco, I again importuned Dr. Farrand, this time to fill the breach by serving as presiding officer of the sessions at San Francisco, and again he generously agreed to do so. But the fates were against us! An unexpected physical indisposition prevented Dr. Farrand from going to San Francisco. In the absence of Dr. Van Hoesen, our elected Secretary, Mr. Willis H. Kerr of the Claremont Colleges Libraries, agreed to pinchhit, and attended. Announcement of the program and report of the Nominating Committee for the annual meeting of June 21, 1939, at the San Francisco Exposition Auditorium, was printed in our *News Sheet*, Nos. 51-52, p. 1. From vague reports that have reached me it was not known till a few days ago that a quorum of our members attended; but on the receipt now of belated minutes it is reported that the annual meeting was duly held, and the Council has accepted the report. Apparently the attractions of the San Francisco Exposition had more drawing power to librarians than what bibliography can offer to them. Dr. Utley kindly came over to our bibliographical Macedonia to help us. He presided. Three things stand out like stone — we should not meet in competition with expositions or other popular attractions; we should not go too far from the centre of our membership, and we should not expect our audiences to be too dependent upon librarians when they are meeting with library associations. It is my judgment that the Bibliographical Society, as one of the learned societies in the American Council of Learned Societies, could meet alone once a year and at a season not glutted with meetings of other societies, at a place central to our membership (I do not mean geographically central), and that this independent meeting should be the annual meeting. Other meetings could of course be arranged for, regionally or otherwise, with other learned societies, including those of librarians. I am offering this thought to our members and to the Council for further consideration.

The fourth meeting of the Council was held in Providence on September 9, 1939. There were thirteen items on the docket. The principal items related to closing the Cole case, discussing the *Second Census* printing contract, publication more regularly of the *Papers*, and four times during 1940 as an experiment.

The Council meeting held this week (December 28, 1939) has been principally concerned with choosing a new Permanent Secretary and preparing for this business meeting, to close up unsettled matters.

Finally, a forward step was taken by our Treasurer with the Council's authorization, first in distributing our funds in a number of accredited banks in Boston, and in having the system of Treasurer's business improved under the advice of the certified public accountants whom we employ.

It is, indeed, a pleasant thing for me, to give thanks publically to my associates on the Council in making quorums possible on five occasions since September, 1938, at real sacrifice to each of time and money, patiently to sit through the hours, giving the best that is in them for all of us who are proud to be members of the Bibliographical Society of America. And I cannot fail to render thanks to Mr. R. W. G. Vail, our efficient Permanent Secretary, for all he has done in a difficult job, to set it on foot, and give it speed. His appointment as Director of the New York State Library necessitated his resignation from our secretariat. He was fond of the job. He regrets he has had to retire from it. But I am sure that my gratitude is accompanied by yours, and that you will join with me in congratulating the State Library of New York in honoring itself in his choice, and give to Mr. Vail our best wishes for his health and strength to carry on. We do not surrender him from our midst.

To our members present or absent I wish a new year of health and happiness. And now as I turn over the presidential duties to a most capable successor, Dr. Randolph G. Adams, a real bibliographer and historical scholar, I bespeak for him your active coöperation in the new year.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
AND GERALD D. McDONALD

We call your attention to the first instalment of the *Bibliographical Notes*. It is our earnest wish that this enterprise may become a vital force in the Society. Your interest and co-operation will make this possible. To that end we urge you to send notes, suggestions and criticisms to the Permanent Secretary.

Incunabula

AESOPUS MORALISATUS. Brescia: Jacobus Britannicus, 2 Dec., 1485. 4°. 22 ff. Sig: a-b⁸, c⁶. 28 ll. Type: 102R. Device A.

F. 1a: (V⁴) T iuuēt & ꝑsit: conatur pagina praesens: | Dulcius arident feria picta iocis. | ... F. 3a (a-iii): Discat in auctorem poena redire suum. | De cane & oue. | ... Text ends F. 21b, l. 3: Finis. | [*Colophon*:] Impressum Brixiae per Iacobum Britannicum | Brixianum anno domini. M. cccc. lxxxv. | die secundo Decembris. | DEVICE.

This edition, not described in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, is found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

— FREDERICK R. GOFF

BONAVENTURA, S. *Meditationes vitae Christi*. [Paris:] For Jean Petit [n.d.]. 8°.

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, vol. IV, 4759; W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Part II, 1172.

This edition has now been assigned to the sixteenth century since it contains a very late device of Jean Petit. More specifically this device has been identified with Haebler's number XI (cf. K. Haebler, *Verlegermarken des Jean Petit*, Halle, 1914), which was used from 1511 to 1527. This edition of the *Meditationes*, which the *Gesamtkatalog* considers a spurious work, is owned by the Philadelphia Free Library.

— FREDERICK R. GOFF

PULCI, LUIGI (1431-1487). *Morgante Maggiore*. Venice: Matteo Capcasa (di Codeca), 16 Apr. 'Mccccxxxviii' [*i.e.* 1494?]. 4°.

208 ff. Sig: A-Z³, &³, 9⁸, 10⁸. 2 col. 40 ll. Type: 80R.

[*Colophon*:] FINITO il libro appellato Morgâte | maggiore facto come e decto al princi | pio da Luigi de pulci ad petitiõe della | excellentissima mona Lucretia de Pie | ro di Cosimo de medici. Impresso in | Venesia per Matheo di codeca da par | ma dellano della incarnatione del no- | stro Sgnore (*sic*) Iesu Christo .Mcccc-xxx | viiii. (*sic*) adi. xvi. Aprile. Rittracto dallo | originale uero & riueduto & correc- | to dal proprio auctore che iddio felice | mente cõserui & dia piacere a chi lege | con salute della anima & del corpo. | AMEN.

Apparently unrecorded.

Capcasa first appears as an independent printer in the production of a work dated September 4, 1489; his last signed book is dated July 21, 1495. The logical explanation of the misprinted date in the colophon of this edition is that the first 'x' is an error for an 'l', and that the correct date is 1489. If, however, this date is accepted, then Capcasa's debut as a printer is moved back five months. Since the type used in this edition was in use according to the British Museum Catalogue in May, 1494, the date 1489 presents a five year discrepancy. The date 1494 therefore appears to be a more correct one for this edition although how the misprinted date can be made to coincide with this fact is not readily explained.

This edition belongs to the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C. Signatures A₁, A₈, and X₄ are lacking in their copy.

— FREDERICK R. GOFF

STATIUS, PUBLIUS PAPINIUS (c. 45-96 A.D.). *Opera*. [Sine nota.]

Hain-Copinger 14975.

This edition has now been further identified as an imperfect copy of *Hain-Copinger* 14978, printed at Venice by Jacobus de Paganinis, and dated December 24, 1490. The Besançon copy described by Copinger comprises only 198 leaves of the 210 leaves which make up the complete edition. The Yale University copy described on page 200 of the 1919 *Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in America* is also imperfect and agrees with the Besançon copy.

— FREDERICK R. GOFF

English Books, 1475-1800

FORBES, JOHN (1568?-1634). Four sermons . . . [probably printed by Giles Thorp, Amsterdam] 1635.

Wrongly dated 1625 in STC. After the first gathering, *⁴ had been printed off, the printer began work upon the body of the book. Later, he either discovered more of the manuscript or the author made an addition to his address to the reader. The printer then added another leaf, signed ** (probably printed along with the last gathering I²), but found a catchword at the end of signature *_{4v} referring to the beginning of A_{1r}. This he blacked out by overprinting and around it printed in smaller type other instances of persecutions, the topic discussed earlier on the page. See *S.T.C.* 11192.

— EDWIN H. WILLOUGHBY

SHIRLEY, JAMES (1596-1666). The politician . . . London, 1655.

This book brings up the question of imposition in two sizes, an uncommon occurrence in early English printing. In 1655, Humphrey Moseley published Shirley's *The gentleman of Venice* and *The politician* and Carlell's *The passionate lovers* in both octavo and quarto. In the quarto issue of *The gentleman of Venice* signature C is signed B which indicates that the octavo issue preceded the quarto. In the Ashley copy of *The politician*, signature C₂ is said to be signed E₂. Another copy has the fourth leaf of sheet A signed A₄, so that this work may have been first imposed partly in octavo and partly in quarto. Perhaps other examples are known to members.

— WILLIAM A. JACKSON

Americana

FISHER, JONATHAN (1768-1847). Two elegies, on the Deaths of Mrs. Marianne Burr, who died of a consumption, Jan. 2, 1795; and of Mrs. Rebekah Walker, who died of the same disorder, Jan. 27, 1795, aged 23, both neighboring women and friends, in the town of Ashby in Massachusetts. By the Rev. Jona. Fisher, A.M. . . . *Hanover, Printed, By Dunham and True. January 1st, 1796.* 11 p. 12°.

Unrecorded. Copy in possession of L. M. Stark, New York City.

— LOUIS M. STARK

French Policy Defeated . . . London, 1760.

Correct collation: 8vo, pp. (4), 130. 2 maps. This was made up from first edition sheets plus a new title-page, leaf of Dedication and leaves P²-R². See note to *Sabin* 25887.

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

GILMER, FRANCIS WALKER (1790-1826). A Vindication of the Laws, Limiting the Rate of Interest on Loans . . . Richmond, 1820.

This was written by Gilmer and should be entered under his name. It was later reprinted in Gilmer's *Sketches, Essays and Translations* . . . Baltimore, 1828. See Richard Beale Davis's *Francis Walker Gilmer* . . . Richmond, 1939. *Sabin* 99809.

— JOHN C. WYLLIE

GUILLET, URBAIN (1764-1817). Extrait | d'une Lettre de Baltimore, dans l'Améri- | que septentrionale, écrite le 27 Décem- | bre 1804 par le R. P. Urbain, Religieux | de la Val-Ste. de N. D. de Trappe. | [Fribourg, Switzerland, ca. 1805.] 18mo, 8 p. Caption-title.

Father Urbain was a Cistercian Trappist of Val-Sainte who was sent to America by his Superior to found the Order here. He settled at Louisville in July, 1805.

The assumed place of printing is based on facts concerning the headquarters of the Congregation of Trappists at this time. Forced to leave Val-Sainte in the canton of Fribourg (their original headquarters) when the French invaded Switzerland in 1796, the Order wandered throughout Europe for six years before resuming possession of Val-Sainte in 1802. One of the first acts of the Abbot after

their return was to send a colony to America under Father Urbain Guillet, and it is reasonable to assume that this letter, reporting the latter's progress, must have been printed locally. *Sabin* 98105 gives [Paris?] as the place of imprint, and wrongly locates a copy in NN which has only a photostat.

— LATHROP C. HARPER

HIGGINS, JESSE. Sampson against the Philistines . . . Philadelphia, 1805.

This was written by Jesse Higgins and not by William Sampson. See *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. LXII, No. 2, p. 215. See note to *Sabin* 25887.

— JULIAN P. BOYD

A Memorial containing a Summary View of Facts.

The correct chronology of the American editions is: Philadelphia (Chatten); New York (Hugh Gaine); and New York (Parker & Weyman). The Gaine and Parker editions were made up from the same sheets and variant title-pages. *Sabin* 47512.

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

MEXICO. [Legal form:] ¶Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como yo | [10-line space filled in in ms.] | para que por mi y en mi nombre podays pedir y demandar auer recibir y cobrar | de todas z qualesquier personas de qualquier estado y condicion que sean . . . | [32 lines] | [on verso: 9 lines] | [*Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, before Oct. 25, 1565.*] 1 leaf. f^o.

Unrecorded. Copy in NN. Dated in ms. Oct. 25, 1565. Printed with the Gothic type used by Ocharte in his edition of: *Domingo de la Anunciación. Doctrina Xpiana*. Mexico 1565.

— LOUIS M. STARK

MEXICO. [Legal form:] (S)Epan quantos esta carta vieren como yo | [2-line space filled in in ms.] | otorgo y conozco que do y otorgo todo mi poder cuplido li | bre y llenero y bastante segun que yo lo tengo . . . | [35 lines and 1-line space] | [on verso: 8 lines and 2-line space] | [*Mexico: Pedro Ocharte, 156-?*] 1 leaf. f^o.

Unrecorded. Copy in NN. Dated (partly in ms.): en [diez y siete] dias del mes de [agosto] año de mill y quiniento y sesenta y [seys años]. Printed with the same type as the above, and with an historiated woodcut initial S used also by Ocharte on a later legal form reproduced in Emilio Valton's *Impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI*, 1935, p. [119].

— LOUIS M. STARK

MEXICO. [Legal form:] (E)Nla ciudad de Mexico a [diezeocho] dias del mes de [Abrill] de | Mil y quinientos y ochenta y [seys] años . . . | [16 lines] | [*Mexico, 158-?*] 1 leaf. f^o.

Unrecorded. Copy in NN. Roman type.

— LOUIS M. STARK

NEW YORK (Colony). Statutes. Anno Regni | Georgii III. | Regis | Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, | Nono. | At a Session of the

General Assembly of the | Colony of New-York, held at the City-Hall in
| the City of New-York; began the 4th of April, | 1769, and continued by
divers Adjournments | to the 20th of May following, in the 9th Year | of
the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George | the Third, by the Grace of
God, of Great- | Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender | of the
Faith, &c. | [royal arms] | *New-York: Printed by H. Gaine, Printer to
the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in the | Province of New-York, 1769.*
| 4to, pp. (2), 12. 2 unsigned leaves (t.-p. cognate with blank leaf at
end), A-C².

Evans 11358. The "Ten-Pound Act" was first advertised in the *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 5 Feb. 1770. Evans described a fragment of the act from the heading of page one. The complete work, described above, was acquired by NN. in 1939. Surprisingly, it is a different setting of type from the four-page fragment already in NN., and both exemplars are apparently unique. In the fragment, described by Evans, the top line of page one reads: An act to empower Justices of the Peace, Mayors, | In the complete copy, this line reads: An act to empower Justices of the Peace, | — GERALD D. McDONALD

POWNALL, THOMAS (1722-1805). Considerations towards a General Plan of Measures for the English Provinces. Laid before the Board of Commissioners at Albany, by Mr. Pownall. *New-York printed, Edinburgh reprinted, and sold by Mess. Hamilton & Balfour, M,DCC,LVI.* 12mo, pp. vi, 7-19, (1).

Unrecorded edition. See *Sabin* 16029.

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

POWNALL, THOMAS (1722-1805). A Memorial Addressed to the Sovereigns of America . . . London, 1783.

The correct collation: 8vo, pp. (4), iv, 139, (5). This includes a half-title and two final leaves of advertisement. *Sabin* 64824.

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

RAMSAY, DAVID (1749-1815). The History of the American Revolution . . . London, 1791.

This edition is made up from the sheets of the Philadelphia edition of 1789 plus new title-pages, two leaves of errata and three leaves of Introduction in vol. I. *Sabin* 67686.

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

SMITH, JOHN (1580-1631). The True Travels . . . Richmond, 1819.

Sabin erroneously follows Kidder in calling John Holt Rice the "editor and publisher" of this edition. Rice published it, but the editor was Francis Walker Gilmer, 1790-1826. See Richard Beale Davis's *Francis Walker Gilmer* . . . Richmond, 1939. *Sabin* 82852.

— JOHN C. WYLLIE

Modern Literature

ANDERSON, MAXWELL (1876-). *Saturday's Children*. A Comedy in Three Acts. New York, 1927.

The First Issue has the following points:

The copyright page reads as follows: "Copyright, 1926 | By Maxwell Anderson | Copyright, 1927 | By Longman's, Green and Co. | First Edition | Made in the United States of America."

The front cover bears a triangular device between the title and author's name.

The dust jacket bears, front and back, the title and author's name and is otherwise pictorial.

The Second Issue has the following points:

The copyright page reads as in the first issue but has in addition a five-line statement regarding rights of broadcasting, recitation and the like. It might be added that in the first issue this statement appears on an addenda slip. This has been found in all examined copies.

The front cover does not bear a triangular device between the title and author's name.

Two thirds of the dust jacket is occupied by a blurb for the play.

— MARTIN K. HOWES

AUSTEN, JANE (1775-1817). *Emma: A Novel*. Three Volumes in Two. By the author of "Pride and Prejudice," &c. &c. Vol. I [-II]. Philadelphia: Published by M. Carey, No. 121 Chestnut Street, and for sale by Wells & Lilly, Boston. 1816.

Collation: Vol. I. A-Y⁶ ()¹; 133 leaves. Vol. II. A-Y⁶ ()¹; 133 leaves.

Contents: Vol. I. A.1a title; A.1b blank; A.2a dedication; A.2b blank; A.3a-Y.6b (pp. 5-264) text; () blank. Vol. II. A.1a title; A.1b blank; A.2a-Y.6b (pp. 3-264) text; () blank. In both volumes page 102 is misprinted 202.

Binding, etc.: Natural colored paper boards. Roan back stamped in gold with seven double rules, with EMMA between the second and third and 1 [or, 2] between the fourth and fifth. There is a reasonable likelihood that it is a publisher's binding. The leaves are uncut and measure 17.2 by 10.5 cm.

Note: I have collated the text with the notes of Chapman's edition (Oxford, 1923, vol. IV). The only differences I have noted are: page 33, line 11 (Chapman) — *so very fine a man*, (Carey) — *so fine a man*; page 288, line 19 (Chapman) — *suppose*, which is a correction of the first 1816 English edition *supposed*, (Carey) — *suppose*, correctly. Inasmuch as this book is entirely of American manufacture, there are doubtless other variations.

No clue has so far come to light as to the date of the book's appearance. The English edition was published in December, 1815; at the earliest the American edition could probably not be prepared before March or April, 1816. Through the kindness of Mr. R. F. Roberts of the Collectors' Bookshop I have been shown a copy of William Hey's *A Treatise on the Puerperal Fever*, Philadelphia: M. Carey

& Son, August 20, 1817. This contains a 24-page pamphlet of advertisements, dated March, 1817, and listing *Emma* on page 15.

See Geoffrey Keynes, *Jane Austen: A Bibliography* (London, 1929), number 13.

— CHARLES B. HOGAN

HAGGARD, SIR RIDER (1856-1925). *King Solomon's Mines*. London, 1885.

Since the note on this book was published in *Bibliographical Notes and Queries* (vol. II, no. 10, p. 9), further study reveals the following:

King Solomon's Mines was first printed in August, 1885. It was reprinted in October, 1885; twice reprinted in November; and again twice reprinted in December, 1885.

The First Printing has the following points:

p. 10 (middle): "Bomangwato" is printed instead of the correct spelling "Bomangwato."

p. 116: The pagination number is out of alignment, *i.e.* a part of the number is in a higher position than the rest.

p. 122 (third line from bottom): "let twins *to* live" is printed instead of "let twins live."

p. 233 (14th line): "a" in "afraid" is printed from a broken type.

p. 307 (footnote): "wrod" is printed for "word."

The end papers are light yellow on one side and white on the other.

The advertisements are dated: 8.85.

The Second Printing (October, 1885) contains all the above noted mistakes except that the pagination of p. 116 is straightened.

The advertisements are regularly those dated 10.85; some copies of this printing, however, are reported with advertisements dated 8.85.

The Third Printing (November, 1885) has all the wrong spellings corrected.

— FREDERICK COYKENDALL

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CONSTITUTION

Article I — *Name*

The name of this Society shall be the Bibliographical Society of America.

Article II — *Object*

The object of the Society shall be to promote bibliographical research and to issue bibliographical publications.

Article III — *Officers*

The Officers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. Any vacancies occurring during the year shall be filled by the Council.

Article IV — *Council*

The affairs of the Society shall be in the hands of a Council, consisting of the Officers, the last ex-President and four Councilors. One Councilor shall be elected each year. The Council shall conduct the business, manage the property and in general care for the interest of the Society. A report of its activities shall be presented at the annual meeting of the Society. It may adopt by-laws for the Society.

Article V — *Members*

Any person or institution approved by the Council may become a member on the payment of the annual dues. Any member who shall pay to the Society the designated fee shall be a life member and exempt from future payments. Any member meeting the financial conditions may become a contributing or a sustaining member. Persons not residing in the United States or Canada may be elected as corresponding members and shall be exempt from fees. On the unanimous recommendation of all present at a meeting of the Council the Society may elect honorary members who shall be exempt from fees. The number of honorary members shall never exceed ten. Members whose fees have been in arrears for more than a year shall be dropped from the Society, but may be reinstated by the Council on the payment of back dues covering

the years since their dismissal for which they have continued to receive the publications of the Society.

Article VI — *Permanent Fund*

All fees of life members, contributing members and sustaining members, together with such sums as may be given for this purpose, shall be set aside as a permanent fund, the income only of which shall be used.

Article VII — *Branch Societies*

Branch Societies may be formed in any place by the election of a local Secretary and on receiving the approval of the Council.

Article VIII — *Amendments*

Amendments to the Constitution may be adopted at any annual meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present if notice has been given at the previous meeting, or if the amendment has received the unanimous consent of the Council, provided that notice thereof has been given in the call for the meeting.

BY-LAWS

I — *Duties of Officers*

The Officers of the Society shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their offices, with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

The duties of the Permanent Secretary shall be, in general, to act as the Executive Officer of the Society, under the direction of the Council, and specifically as follows:

1. It is understood that the Permanent Secretary is to conduct all the routine correspondence formerly handled by the Secretary and the Treasurer, to send out bills, receive dues and forward them promptly to the Treasurer of the Society, and render to him periodic financial statements.

2. He is to carry on the correspondence connected with the publications of the Society, and, with the advice of the Publication Committee, to edit them and see them through the press.

3. He is not expected to serve as Recording Secretary at the

meetings of the Society or Council since these are duties of the elected Secretary of the Society.

4. He is not expected to be responsible for the investment or disbursements of funds, since these duties are within the province of the Treasurer and the Council.

5. The duties of calling meetings and planning programs will not be within the province of the Permanent Secretary since these are responsibilities of the President and Council.

6. He is to receive a stipulated annual compensation, plus reimbursements for postage, stationery, and similar office supplies, as voted by the Council.

II — *Meetings*

A meeting of the Society may be called at any time by the President with the approval of five members of the Council. There shall be at least one meeting of the Society every year.

III — *Elections and Appointments*

Officers as specified in Article III of the Constitution shall be elected annually for the succeeding calendar year by the members of the Society and shall serve until the election of their successors. A Permanent Secretary and/or other paid assistants may be appointed by the Council. Standing committees and special committees, not otherwise provided for, shall be appointed by the President.

IV — *Quorums*

Five members shall constitute a quorum for the Council, and thirteen members a quorum for the Society.

V — *Fees*

The annual membership fee shall be three dollars, payable at the beginning of the financial year, January first. The fee for contributing membership shall be twenty dollars a year. The fee for life membership shall be fifty dollars, paid in one sum.

VI — *Contracts*

The Treasurer when authorized by the Council may sign contracts binding the Society.

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A SURVEY OF BOOKS PRINTED IN GERMANY BETWEEN 1501 AND 1530. THE BOOK PRODUCTION IN THE GERMAN SPEAKING CUL- TURAL AREA

By RUDOLF HIRSCH

BROTHER John M. Lenhart published in 1935 "A Study in statistical and applied bibliography" under the title, *Pre-Reformation Printed Books*. Although a limited statistical evaluation of book production of the early period had been attempted by Robert Steele between 1903 and 1907¹ and by B. Iwinski in 1911,² Brother Lenhart says rightly of his book: "This study is offered as the first attempt at a statistical approximation of the volume of pre-Reformation book production." It is worthwhile to review a few statements illustrating this "statistical approach to bibliography." For example, Brother Lenhart tells us that "no less than 34,850,000 copies of books were printed during the first two decades of the sixteenth century," taking "1,000 copies as the average number of impressions made of all books printed from 1501 to 1520" (p. 13). Anybody who is familiar with the book production of this period and with the extraordinary variety of general and special reference aids, nowhere completely enumerated, published in book form and scattered as articles, must admire the courage of the author who bases his esti-

¹ R. Steele, *What Fifteenth Century Books are About*. (Library, New ser. 4: 337-54; 5: 337-38; 6: 137-55; 8: 225-38. 1903-1907.)

² B. Iwinski, in: Institut International de Bibliographie. *Bull.* 16. 1911.

mate primarily on Panzer and Weller, and who makes the sweeping generalization "other bibliographers may have contributed about one thousand new titles in various bibliographical studies" (p. 11). We continue to quote: "Adding to this the 20,047,500 copies of incunabula [as estimated by the same author] we have a sum total of 54,897,500 copies of books printed during the 76 years preceding the Reformation, i.e. from 1445 to 1520." But this is child's play compared to the following calculations: "Counting 4 inches to a printed line and 40 lines to a page and 320 pages to a book, the aggregate of all lines of books printed from 1445 to 1520 will make a straight line of 44,361,616 miles or 1,781 times the circumference of the earth," or "counting one inch as the thickness of a single book, all pre-Reformation books piled on top of each other would reach to a height 157 times as high as Mount Everest which is 29,000 feet high."

Now, there is no reason why a person eager to practice his statistics should not engage in this kind of exercise. But why need it have been printed? The matter becomes more serious when Brother Lenhart begins to evaluate the contents of books, when he says in this connection (p. 51) that the religious literature of pre-Reformation times is marked by unity of creed, uniformity of presentation of the tenets of the One Catholic Faith. It is difficult to see the unity and uniformity in the presentation of an Augustinus, Thomas Aquinas, Suso, Tauler, Geiler von Kaisersberg, Thomas à Kempis and Æneas Sylvius. Strange also is the statement that "most of the heretical books printed prior to the year 1515 circulated freely among the Catholic people" (p. 54). As a matter of fact our knowledge of hereticism is based primarily on writings of the prosecution and of adversaries which the heretics and their manuscripts and books rarely survived. Equally debatable is the statement that "Foremost among the scurrilous writers were Erasmus and the authors of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*." The former seems to be more than just a scurrilous writer; Brother Lenhart surely knows that he was one of

Luther's foremost adversaries and the most important humanist who remained within the fold of the Church. The *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, although a scurrilous writing against the narrow-mindedness of the Dominicans, is unjustly called the work of "scoffers who made merry with the holiest things and dragged into the mire everything that is held sacred by Christians." Lenhart's proof of "great distaste for vernacular literature of pre-Reformation times" is another example of single-minded interpretation rather than of genuine understanding. A short examination of the first two volumes of Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (1884 *et seq.*) would have shown that the increase of writings in vernacular was surprising and, if anything, a proof of increased demand. But the one statement with which we have to take particular issue in connection with this paper is his sentence: "The humanistic movement did not touch the masses; it remained restricted to a coterie of cultured men and women." This proves a deplorable misconception of at least "German Humanism" which was not the movement of one class, as in Italy, but one carried on by a comparatively large group. Otherwise, how could it be explained that, for example, the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* were issued three times within one year.³ German Humanism cannot be divided from the Reformation; not from the reform movement within the Catholic Church (*Katholische Erneuerung*) nor from the movements for a change of the social structure which, in turn, were inter-linked with German mysticism and the heretics.

In Germany the transition from the Middle Ages to the New Times is signified not only by the weakening of the Empire and the secular power of the Church, the ruin of feudalism, the rise of nationalism, the increase of power of the local governments and of cities, the development of commerce and the emancipation of every branch of knowledge from the mediaeval unity. The entire structure of life changed, and I believe it significant that xylo-

³ *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1913, p. 29.

graphic reproduction and the reproducing of books by movable types had its origin in Central Europe. The increased demand of a broadening reading public and the popularization of reading are an intrinsic and typical part of German Humanism, as we understand it.

The particular importance of the study of German book production is that it gives a remarkably clear picture of the trends of civilization. In the following paragraphs it has been attempted to review briefly the German book production during the thirty years following the incunabula period, and I trust that by discussing a few of the outstanding items in the different fields, this essay may serve as an introduction into the history of civilization of this period. By mentioning titles under one of the different branches of knowledge and study, no attempt has been made to classify book production. The interest of books of this period is manifold, and the same item is very often of historical importance in many fields. Illuminating this point the Latin translation of the *Haggada* might serve as an example. Obviously this seems to be an item belonging to Jewish theology. But the real interest of this item is (1) that it was translated by Thomas Murner in support of Reuchlin and as a retort against the Dominicans; (2) it is of interest for German literature, because of the eminence of its translator; (3) it is illustrated with woodcuts by the translator which, although dilettante, are none the less interesting, and (4) finally, it was printed by Beatus Murner, Thomas's brother, and is Frankfurt's third impression.

HISTORY — Many significant works were published in the field of history and historiography during our period, stimulated by the growing influence of humanism and its interest in early texts in manuscripts. It would be impossible here to enumerate even the most interesting of these publications; they are adequately covered in F. Schnabel's *Deutschlands geschichtliche Quellen*, 1931. Some typical examples are: Einhard's life of Charlemagne, *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni*, 1501, edited by Hermann von Neue-

naar; the *Annales* by Reginus, bishop of Pruem (d. 915), published the same year; Jorandes' (d. ca. 550) *De Rebus Gothorum*, edited by Conrad Peutinger and published in 1515. Peutinger was the best known of the Augsburg humanists and also the first great collector of antiquities in Germany. He wrote the *De Mirandis Germaniae Antiquitatibus*, published in 1506, and a book on Roman archaeology in which he reproduces a number of Roman inscriptions, the *Romanae Vetustatis Fragmenta*, 1505. Another historian of importance, Aventinus (or Johannes Turmaier), while collecting material for his *Annales Bojorum* found and edited several source books, or brought them to the attention of others: A tract against Gregory VIII (*Liber de Unitate Ecclesiae*, 1520, edited by Hutten), the life of Henry IV (*Vita Henrici IV*, 1518), and the diary of the Bavarian monk Tageno on the third Crusade and Frederic Barbarossa, published in 1522. Another work, supposedly by Tritheim, but a forgery according to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (38: 629) and others, is the *Compendium sive Breviarium Annalium sive Historiarum Gentis Francorum*, published in 1516. It is known primarily for its colophon with the passage on the invention of printing.

The political events of this period brought forth a great number of tracts and books. We find an increasing quantity of small pamphlets and broadsides comparable to the handbills of our day. Many of these, called *Neue Zeitungen*, were published anonymously, just as today. Their authors represented many groups, ranging from the humanist to the man of the street. Imperial diets, the preparation for war against the Turks, the Peasants' War, the political affairs connected with the Reformation produced a vast literature. Many of these tracts are extremely rare; again and again items are noted in catalogues as "hitherto undescribed." This is partly the reason for their importance. No collection of sources will ever be able to reprint even the most important of these ephemeral writings, and the historians cannot but help going back to the originals. To show the variety in the char-

acter of these historical tracts we might take as a sample the revolutionary movement called *Bundschuh* or the Peasants' Revolt of 1525. Besides numerous anonymous tracts we find as authors, writers like Gengenbach, revolutionaries like Münzer, reformers like Luther, and humanists like Melanchthon.

POLITICAL THEORY — As important for political theory, three books should be mentioned: (1) Marsilius de Padua's *Defensor Pacis*, Basle 1522. It is highly significant, that this book, written during the first part of the fourteenth century, which proclaimed that the "people is the source of legislative power; the king is responsible to the people," should have been unearthed for publication in Germany and just during our period. (2) Thomas More's idealistic *Utopia*, though first printed in Louvain in 1516, was printed twice in 1518 in Basle; and (3) Erasmus's *Querela Pacis* in which the author advocated that Christian ethics be applied to international relations, published in 1516.

JURISPRUDENCE — In the field of jurisprudence books and pamphlets on legislation, criminal law and similar subjects should be noted. Editions of Justinian, Bartolus de Saxoferrato, the Gregorian decretals and others continued to be published. But in 1501 we find for the first time an attempt to collect imperial decrees and state laws of an earlier period in the *Buch der heiligen Römischen Reichs Unterhaltung*. At about the same time appears an ever increasing number of revised codes of local or municipal government, many under the title "Reformation." Those of Nürnberg, Worms, and a few others had already been published as incunabula. New ones to be mentioned are the *Reformation des Landesgerichts zu Bamberg*, 1503, the *Reformation der Stadt Frankfurt*, 1509, the *Reformation der Stadt Freiburg*, 1520, the *Lübeck'sche Recht*, 1509 and the *Bayrische Landesordnungen*, 1516 and following years. Another kind of law code is the cruel *Bambergische Halsgerichtsordnung* with its hair-raising but artistically interesting woodcuts, published in 1507. It was the foundation for the notorious criminal code known as the *Caro-*

lina. This *Halsgerichtsordnung* was closely approximated in Northern Germany in 1516 by the *Brandenburgische Halsgerichtsordnung*. Still another type, that of popularized accounts of Roman law in vernacular,⁴ first appeared during the thirty years under discussion, e.g. Tengler's *Laien-Spiegel*, 1509, with illustrations by the master H. F. and by others.

REFORMATION — One of the largest groups within the book production of this period is that of books and pamphlets commonly called "literature of the Reformation." Many of these are significant in the field of Humanism, German literature, etc. Most of the reference books and monographs, including "statistical studies" dealing with the pre-Reformation and Reformation periods are inevitably more or less impressionistic and subjective. Even standard denominational encyclopedias, such as Wetzzer and Welte or Herzog-Hauck, or articles in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, too often substitute interpretation for documentation.

The field might be subdivided into forerunners, followers and opponents of the Reformation. The Reformation itself may be regarded as starting either with the 97 theses against the Aristotelian-scholastic theology and the 95 theses against the Indulgence (1517), or with the three important Luther tracts of the year 1520: The *An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, the *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae* and the *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*. Most writings of the leading reformers and opponents have since been edited either in separate critical editions like the excellent Weimar edition of Luther's works, or included in the *Corpus Reformatorum* (1834, *et seq.*) and the *Corpus Catholicorum* (1919, *et seq.*). Many special bibliographies, and particularly K. Schottenloher's *Bibliographie der Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* (1933, *et seq.*) serve as adequate guides. But a great number of anony-

⁴ Cf. R. Stintzing, *Geschichte der populären Literatur des römisch-kanonischen Rechts in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1876.

mous writings or tracts by authors of lesser importance have not been re-issued since their first publication. Such are many of the illuminating polemical and satirical verses (*Streit-und Spottgedichte*) of the Reformation.⁵

Contemporary controversies contribute a great deal toward the clarification of events. Thus Thomas Murner's disputes deserve special mention.⁶ His first quarrel with Wimpheling about the latter's *Germania*, which by the way was the first nationalistic German history, was rather gentle compared with his controversies with the Lutheran party. His *Von dem Lutherischen Narren* and the Reformation party's able reply, the *Karsthans* are still illuminating examples of the fervor with which the fight about the Reformation was carried on. This fight was, of course, carried into other fields. For example in 1527 Johannes Copp published an "evangelical calendar." The same year Thomas Murner replied with a rather rude *Kirchendieb- und Ketzerkalender* (e.g. "Jenner XX. Ulrich Zwingli ein kirchen dieb vnd ein stoltzer figen fresser").

GERMAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE—There is scarcely any field that does not offer material of interest to the student of German literary history and German language, although only a comparatively small number of items was written exclusively for the purpose of distracting or entertaining. Several groups have to be discussed primarily from the literary point of view, according to the writer's opinion, although another person might just as legitimately class them in other divisions. First come translations. The importance of the German Bible for the history of the German language is well known. Luther's translation is commonly reputed to be the first monument of modern German. This belief is somewhat misleading as shown by K. Burdach in his *Luther's*

⁵ Cf. O. Schade, *Satiren und Pasquillen aus der Reformationszeit*, Hannover, 1856-58.

⁶ Cf. Kawerau, W. *Thomas Murner und die deutsche Reformation*. Halle, 1891.

Bedeutung für die Ausbildung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache (*Literarisches Zentralblatt*, January 28, 1891, col. 134-6) and in other writings by the same author. This translation is, however, of great importance, because it propagated the use of Luther's German throughout German Protestantism. Usually forgotten is Emser's translation of the New Testament (1527), and, if mentioned it is criticised as a plagiarism. However that may be, the fact should be remembered, that the Catholic Church too has contributed towards the spread of German as a written language.⁷ Numerous and significant are the translations from classical authors; quite a few of them were free translations, changed so as to become a part of the literary vernacular *Gedankengut* of the time. May I mention but a few authors: Aesop, Isocrates, Virgil, Plautus, Cicero and Caesar, and a few of the translators: Steinhöwel, Ringmann Philesius, Schöferlin, Murner, Eybe, Emser, Pirckheimer and Neuber.⁸

German works or editions of manuals of devotion and piety are another group of literary interest. Some of them reflect German mysticism, some of them are illuminating because of their charming style. Examples are the *Legend des Heiligen Vaters Francisci*, 1512, the *Legend Sankt Hedwigs*, 1504, the *Leben und Legend Sankt Wolfgangs*, 1515, and the *Theologia Deutsch*, 1518, the writing of an unknown mystic of the fourteenth century, which became famous because Luther edited it. Some of these items are better known for their woodcut illustrations or their imprint than for their contents. However, it is significant

⁷ Cf. G. W. Panzer, *Versuch einer Geschichte der römisch-katholischen Bibelübersetzung*, Nürnberg, 1781.

⁸ Examples are: Eusebius, *Geschichte des grossen Alexander*, 1503; Aesop, *Der Deutsch*, transl. by H. Steinhöwel, 1504; Caesar, *Von seinen Kriegen*, transl. by Ringmann Philesius, 1507; Livius, *Römische Historie*, transl. by B. Schöferlin, 1505; Sallustius, *Des Catilina und auch Jugurthen Krieg*, transl. by D. von Pleningen, 1515; Virgil, *Aeneadisch Bücher*, transl. by T. Murner, 1515; Plautus, *Comödien*, transl. by A. von Eybe, 1518; Plutarchus, *Wie im einer seinen Feind Nutz machen kann*, transl. by Emser, 1519; Isocrates, *Nutzbar Unterweisung*, transl. by W. Pirckheimer, 1519; Cicero, *Von dem Alier*, transl. by J. Neuber, 1522.

that Goedeke entered them in his *Grundriss* (II, 22, 1-6; 23, 7-10).

Of all groups the so-called folk literature received most scholarly attention. Goedeke characterizes it well:

Die Volksliteratur, die den Hintergrund der vorreformatorischen Decenien und teilweise auch der Reformationszeit selbst bildete, umfasst das poetische Gemeingut, das zum Teil aus dem fernsten Altertum, zum Teil aus dem Mittelalter herübergebracht wurde, teils aus der Fremde zu uns gelangte.

It is often crude, sometimes inartistic, but many works of this kind show a surprising gift in the use of the language and an admirable "common sense." Many of them have been enumerated in a little booklet by P. Heitz and F. Ritter, *Versuch einer Zusammenstellung der deutschen Volksbücher*, 1924.⁹ Outstanding are the following items: *Freydank* of the thirteenth century, edited by Sebastian Brant in 1508; the *Historie von dem Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa*, 1519, which belongs in the class of *Heldensagen und legendäre historische Geschichten*, as does also the *Herzog Gottfried*, 1503; the *Herzog Herpin*, 1514; and the *Historie von Kaiser Karolus Sohn genannt Loher*, 1513. Some of these books had already been published during the fifteenth century but are unobtainable in their earliest editions, e.g. the *Heldenbuch* and the *Ritter von Thurn*. In another class belongs the *Geschichte des Pfarrers vom Kalenberg*, published about 1515 in its seventh, but first sixteenth-century, edition. It is one of the important jest-books of German literature. Two similar collections should also be mentioned, of which the first was now published for the first time. Both of them became even more famous in later versions. These are the *Dyl Ulenspiegel*, 1515 (cf. De Coster's fiction), and the *Reyneke de Voss*, 1517 (cf. Goethe's drama). Another collection of farcial satires, Johann Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* was published in 1522. Pauli edited

⁹ Cf. also K. Goedeke, *Schwänke des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1879; K. W. L. Heyse, *Bücherschatz*, Berlin, 1854.

also quite a few of Geiler von Kaisersberg's sermons¹⁰ which are of interest from various points of view as examples of the reform movement within the Catholic Church, and which reveal the poetic heritage of earlier periods. His *Irrig Schaf* (1510-1512) for example contains the earliest representation of the Cinderella in a printed book. The *Fortunatus*, first published in 1509, of foreign origin like many other works of the same nature, became an important, almost proverbial part of German literature. Hermann von Sachsenheim's *Mörin* was published in 1512. Some works of two of the less known, but partly amusing, partly obscene meistersingers of the fifteenth century, Jörg Schiller and Hans Foltz, were first published during our period.¹¹ Hans Sachs, the most famous of the meistersingers, published before 1530 only two tracts of major significance: the praise of Luther called *Wittenbergisch Nachtigal*, 1523, and the *Disputation zwischen einem Chorherrn und Schuhmacher*, 1525. We have already mentioned the Alsatian Thomas Murner. His *Narrenbeschwerung*, 1512, *Schelmenzunft*, 1512, *Badenfahrt*, 1514, *Geuchmat*, 1519, etc., are of literary value and are bibliographically described by Goedeke, II, paragraph 133 (reprinted in his *Deutsche Schriften*, 1918, *et seq.*). The Swiss Pamphilus Gengenbach, printer and poet, is one of the most interesting personalities of this period. He published in 1517 the *Nollhart*, a carnival play, and in 1516 the *Gouchmat*. (For other works see Goedeke's edition of Pamphilus Gengenbach, 1856.)

Goedeke devotes a special paragraph to the collections of proverbs (paragraph 104). Three names of compilers are outstanding: Fabri (*Proverbia metrica*, n.d.), Tunnicius (*Monosticha*,

¹⁰ Cf. L. Dacheux, *Un réformateur catholique . . . Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg*, Paris, 1876.

¹¹ J. Schiller, *Lied von den fünf Frauen*, 1501; *Lied von einem Gesellen*, 1501. Most of Foltz's writings appeared as incunabula, but Panzer lists four under the year 1521: *Von einer gar bäurischen Bauernheirat*; *Von einem Wirtsknecht und der Hausmagd*; *Von dem König Salomon und Marckolf*; *Klopf an auf allerlei Art*.

1513), and J. Agricola (*Dreihundert gemeine Sprichwörter*, 1529, and *Der ander Teil gemeiner deutscher Sprichwörter*, 1530). A final group which I wish at least to name is the sacred and the profane song which has rightly attracted much attention.

Modern knowledge of the rare early grammars and vocabularies is probably rather incomplete. One of the most important items is Ickelsamer's *Teutsche Grammatica*, of which Graesse knows only an edition of 1537. Another edition without date is mentioned in different places. I have seen an edition which I believe to have been printed before Johannes Kolross' *Enchiridion*, published in 1529. Ickelsamer, a follower of Carlstadt, was the first to write a philological grammar of the German language.

Rotwelsch, a thief's slang, does not really belong in this class. Two vocabularies of this interesting slang are found in Gengenbach's *Liber Vagatorum*, 1509, and in the *Von der falschen Bettler Büberei*, with preface by Luther, published in 1526.

HUMANISM — While the folk literature came from and was written for the people, humanistic writings were a more erudite expression of the people, addressed primarily to what we would call today the serious reader. Humanism might conveniently be grouped as follows: (1) Writers who remained within and in accord with the Church, like Wimpheling, Beatus Rhenanus and Erasmus. (2) Authors who either broke with or attacked the faith of the Catholic Church, typified by men like Eobanus Hessus, Ulrich von Hutten and Melanchthon. Both emphasized religious and philosophical questions, both contributed to the rise of German nationalism, which is often erroneously connected exclusively with Luther and his followers. (3) The earlier writers who flourished before the Reformation. To this earliest group of German humanists belongs Conrad Celtes, whose importance is generally overrated. What F. G. J. Bezold (*Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance*, 1918, v. 3, p. 82) says of Humanism in general is surely true of this "poeta laureatus": "Der Wohllaut der Perjoden und Verse der Humanisten dringt uns nicht mehr zu Her-

zen." He like most other writers of this group was strongly influenced by Italian humanism. Credit, however, has to be given to Celtes for the editing of the works of Hroswitha von Gandersheim (1501) and of Ligurinus' *De Gestis Imperatoris Friderici I* (1507).

One of the most illuminating examples of German humanism is the controversy between the Dominicans and Reuchlin, that is, between the defenders of scholasticism and those who stood for the new conception of scholarship, or the freedom of learning, to use a modernistic expression. Hochstraten and Pfefferkorn are the rather sad exponents of the vanishing tradition of the Middle Ages, the unity of thought.¹² The biting satire against them, the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, is well known. The first part (1515-1516) is generally considered to be the work of Crotus Rubeanus or Jaeger von Dornheim, although recently Nicolaus Gerbel is quoted again as the more probable author. The second part which appeared in 1517 is largely the work of Ulrich von Hutten. It is equally well known that the starting point of the whole quarrel was the publication of Reuchlin's basic work on the Hebrew grammar, the *Rudimenta Hebraica*, 1506. Hermann van der Busche's *Vallum Humanitatis* served the same purpose as the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, but chose the form of a learned defense.

Desiderius Erasmus, the king of humanists, covered nearly the whole field of knowledge with his enormous mass of books and tracts, translations and commentaries. I need not go into details; any encyclopedia covers the ground quite adequately. There are a few other German humanists who should at least be mentioned: Heinrich Bebel, author of the *Liber Facietiarum*, 1502, an important mirror of the civilization of this time; Peutinger, mentioned before; Pirckheimer, whose name has been linked with the publication of the antischolastic satire, *Eccius Dedolatus*, 1519, pub-

¹² Cf. Hochstraten's *Liber Accusatorius contra Occulare*, 1516, and Pfefferkorn's *Streitbüchlein*, 1516.

lished under the pseudonym, Zonarius Fabianus,¹³ and who wrote the funny tract, *Apologia, seu Podagrae Laus*, and a booklet known as an *Americanum vetustissimum, Germania*, 1530. Of course, he is best known as a friend, or better to say as the financial backer, of Dürer.

Erfurt was the center of a group of Lutheran humanists, of which Eobanus Hessus is the most famous; he edited the *Epigrammata e Sodalitate Literaria* in 1520¹⁴, a defense of Erasmus against attacks by Edward Lee. Crotus Rubeanus and Mutianus Rufus belong to the same group.

The importance of the German humanists as promoters of classical literature and language can probably not compare with that of Italian humanists. If Sandys's table of first editions¹⁵ is correct, only one editio princeps of a Latin author (Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana*, 1520) and only one of a Greek author (Polybius, *Historiarum Libri*, 1530) were printed in Germany during our period. However, we owe to German humanists a great number of commentaries and translations, grammars and books on the method of learning and teaching (e.g. works by Bebel, Murmelius, Melanchthon, or Erasmus; the latter influenced the pronunciation of Greek even up to our day by his *De Recta Latini Graecique Sermonis Pronunciatione*, 1528).

EXACT AND NATURAL SCIENCES — The beginning of the modern method in the exact and natural sciences and in medicine is usually connected with names like Copernicus, Cardanus, Fuchs, Vesalius and others. But the period before the publication of the major books by these pioneers of science already shows a new orientation. The renaissance of science started with the publication of new editions and commentaries of classical authors, a new understanding of the value of practical experimentation, the publi-

¹³ H. Rupprich, *Der Eckius Dedolatus*, Vienna, 1931.

¹⁴ In the Sodalitas the humanists of Erfurt were united under Eobanus Hessus and Petreius Aperbach.

¹⁵ His *History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1908, v. 2, p. 103 ff.

cation of more important writings of mediaeval authors, and with opposition against the traditional authority. Just to give a few examples. In 1514 Trutvetter's *Summa in Totam Physicen* was published. It contained Dietrich von Freiburg's tract, *De Irride*, written around 1300 in which Dietrich gives a correct theory of the rainbow, which causes Ueberweg in his history of philosophy to rank him in importance even above Bacon. The influence of the three greatest German scientists of the fifteenth century continued. Their names are well known: Nicolaus de Cusa, who defended the theory of the daily rotation of the earth; Georg Peurbach, famous astronomer; and his even better known pupil, Regiomontanus. They were followed by men like Johann Schöner (cf. his *Aequatorium Astronomicum*, 1521, and his *Terrae Descriptio*, 1515), Petrus Apianus (cf. his *Cosmographicus Liber*, 1524) and Johannes Stöffler (cf. his *Elucidatio*, 1512, and his *Tabulae Astronomicae*), the first two known as authors of *Americana vetustissima*.

According to Lenhart, "The number of astronomers who rejected astrology remained rather small . . . Naturally works of literature aided in spreading this superstition." It is doubtful whether the first part of this statement is correct. The second one surely needs revision. From the end of the fifteenth century on quite a few satires tried to ridicule the astrological calendars and "practica." W. Uhl (Unser Kalender, 1893. p. 87-89) gives some examples; one of them reads: *Practica Deutsch Doctor Gril vom Kittelperg. Gepraktiziert In der hohen schul do die küe auff stelten geen*. The purpose of these writings is evident from the burlesque titles.

Some of the small tracts on accounting contributed to the advancement of algebra: Böschenstein's *Rechenbüchlein* and Rudolff's *Behend und hübsch Rechnung* (1514 and 1525 respectively). As a contribution to chemical knowledge Ulstadius' *Coelum Philosophicum* and the longer recension of Brunswieg's *De Arte Destillandi* might be given as examples. The latter is equally

interesting for pharmacology, a matter which is true for most early books of distilling and early herbals. One herbal deserves to be especially commented upon, Brunfels' *Herbarum Icones*, 1530-1536, the first botanical book with illustrations drawn from nature (incidentally, by Weiditz).¹⁶ Finally we might mention Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*, a general encyclopedia of knowledge, particularly interesting because of its chapters on science, music and medicine (first extant edition, 1503).

MEDICINE — In medicine the pre-Vesalian anatomies supply considerable information to the historian, e.g. Hundt's *Antropologium de Hominis Dignitate* and the anatomical plates in Friesz's *Spiegel der Arzney*, 1518. In surgery Gersdorff's *Feldbuch der Wundarztnei*, 1517, and the *Unterweisung der Chirurgen*, ca. 1515, are famous samples. The most notable book of obstetrics is Roeslin's *Der schwangeren Frauen Rosengarten*, the first three rare editions of which appeared, richly illustrated, in 1513. Henricus Cordus, a humanist friend of Eobanus Hessus, wrote two interesting tracts: A book on therapy, *Libellus de Pseudotherapia*, and a book on uroscopy, *De Abusu Uroscopiae*.¹⁷ Two groups of medical books form probably the largest percentage of the total book production within this field, books on pestilence and books on syphilis. Both groups are chiefly popular; some of the latter are known as Americana, like Hutten's *De Medicina Guaiaci*, 1519. The most interesting personality as a physician of our period is Paracelsus or Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim. He was a real reformer of medicine, notwithstanding his "bombastic" style. Many of his writings were not published until after his death, and are unobtainable in the earlier editions. Two of his most important writings appeared during our period, the *Kleine Chirurgie*, 1528, and the *De Gradibus et Compositionibus Receptorum*, 1526.

¹⁶ Brunfels published ca. 1525 the first edition of Johannes Huss' collected works, and in 1525 the editio princeps of Wycliffe's *Trilogia*.

¹⁷ Cordus is better known as the author of the *Antilutheromastix*, 1523.

GEOGRAPHY — In the field of geography and cosmography books called *Americana vetustissima* form the outstanding part. Many of them, although rare and highly priced, are of comparatively little interest; most of them are carefully described in HARRISSE or are found in some of the excellent catalogues of *Americana*. Of real documentary value are books like WALDSEEMÜLLER'S *Cosmographiae Introductio*, VESPUCCI'S letters, travels like those of VARTHEMA, or some of the smaller tracts like the *Von den neuen Inseln*.

MUSIC — As important for the history of music and music teaching three books might here be mentioned: TRITONIUS' *Melodipiae, sive Harmoniae Tetracenticae*, 1507, containing the first piece, produced in Germany,¹⁸ of music printed with movable types; COCHLAEUS' *Tetrachordum Musicae*, 1511, a handbook for teaching music, and GLAREANUS' *Isagoge in Musicen*, 1516, important for musical theory. This list could easily be extended, especially if we included books, in which only a few chapters are devoted to music, liturgical books, and the collections of songs, printed partly with and partly without music. But most of them can be found in the extensive literature of musical history.

Some aspects of the contents of books have not been mentioned at all, such as agriculture, physics, military science, etc. It may be said in general that there is hardly any field of knowledge for which it would not be possible to name one or more items of interest published during our period. At the end of this short survey we turn to one matter which does not concern the contents but the form of books.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION — The period from 1501 to 1530 was one of great artistic activity and many artists contributed at least a few illustrations to the books of their time. In many cases they were only the designers and the final artistic quality of their work depended largely upon the ability of the cutter. The most noted and internationally known name here is that of ALBRECHT DÜRER. As in

¹⁸ Five years after Italy, where it was introduced by Ottavio de Petrucci.

many other cases, only some of the works attributed to him can be authenticated, and there is quite some divergency of opinion. The following items are only part of those attributed with certainty: Hroswitha von Gandersheim, *Opera*, 1501, with two woodcuts by Dürer, the others by Wolf Traut; the so-called "Grosse" and the "Kleine" *Passion*, both 1511, with Latin text; of the same year the *Epitome in Divinae Parthenices Mariae Historiam*; the *Unterweisung der Messung*, 1525; *Eilich Unterricht zur Befestigung der Staedte*, 1527; and *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, 1528, these last three with text by Dürer himself. After Dürer may be mentioned Hans Holbein the Younger, who worked for a long time at Basle. His most famous work, the *Totentanz*, was cut before 1526, but was not published in book form until 1538. The New Testament appeared in 1523. The best list of his illustrations, mostly woodcuts, partly engravings after his drawings, is found in A. Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 1876. Two artists who were closely connected with the book production at Augsburg were Hans Schäufelein and Hans Burgkmair. The first illustrated Suso's *Deutsche Schriften*, 1512, and Leonrod's *Hymelwagen*, 1517, and Maen's *Leiden Jesu Christi*, 1518, together with Burgkmair and others; he also contributed to Tengler's *Laien-Spiegel* and illustrated Luther as well as Eck. He worked together with Burgkmair, Beck, Weiditz, Breu, Traut and others on the famous *Theuerdank*, 1517. Hans Burgkmair was also the illustrator of Tauler's *Sermones*, 1508, of the 1510 edition of Geiler von Kaisersberg's *Granatapfel*¹⁹ and of several other publications of the Augsburg publishers, Otmar, Oeglin, Grimm and Wirsung. Traut we have already mentioned. We may note as perhaps his best illustrations, those in Bonaventura's *Legend des Heiligen Franciskus*, 1512. Urs Graf worked mostly for Strassburg publishers. Ringmann's *Passion*, 1506,²⁰

¹⁹ Copied in 1511 by H. B. Grien.

²⁰ One of the woodcuts by Wächtelin (Kristeller, *Die Strassb. Bücherill*, 1888, p. 341).

may be regarded as his chief work, together with the illustrations for Weida's *Buch der zehn Gebot*. Also connected with Strassburg were Hans Baldung Grien, particularly noteworthy for his Nicolaus von Wyle, *Translationen*, 1510,²¹ Wächtelin, the illustrator of the *Leben Christi*, 1508, Gersdorff's *Wundarztnei*, 1517, etc., and Hans Weiditz, to whom we have already referred as the illustrator of Brunfels' *Herbarum Icones*. Other examples of Weiditz's work are Hutten's *Nemo*, 1518, and Plautus' *Zwei Comödien*, 1518.

Lucas Cranach, a friend of Luther, was notable for his illustrations to the translations of the New Testament, 1522, and as the first who attempted tint printing. Three other artists who, like Dürer, worked mostly at Nürnberg are: Hans Springinklee, known especially for his illustrations of the *Hortulus Animae*, 1516, etc.; Erhard Schön; and an artist of special interest, Hans Sebald Beham, a socialistic adherent of the Reformation. Most of Beham's work is after 1530, but some examples of his earlier work are enumerated by Dodgson (I, 44, 3-7; 442, 8-11). We have relatively few books illustrations by the following artists, otherwise well known: Altdorfer (title-page to *Wie die neue Capell zu der schönen Maria zu Regensburg aufkommen ist*, 1519); Leonhard Beck (Geiler's *Schiff der Penitenz*; see also *Theuerdank*); Daniel Hopfer (mostly title-pages, see Bartsch VIII, 473-505); Wolf Huber (*Emaus in Homilia*, 1527); Georg Lemberger (Luther's New Testament, 1524, and Emser's New Testament, 1527); Woensam von Worms, who worked mostly at Cologne. Finally there are many monogrammists, some of them artistically important, such as the masters D.S., C.A., H.F., and not a few unsigned illustrations of quality which cannot be assigned to any artist. Finally, in connection with book illustration, mention should be made of the importance of book ornamentation and of printers' marks during our period.

²¹ Important also for its contents: Translations of Italian novels of the early Renaissance.

The preceding study does not give an exhaustive account of book production. Rather, it is an attempt to illustrate the intellectual history with typical examples chosen from the rich production of this time.

FRENCH AND SPANISH WORKS PRINTED IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

By JAMES F. SHEARER

MANY studies have been published that deal with the history of the French and Spanish in America and many aspects of this history, both of a general and of a particular nature, have been investigated. As a complement to this body of knowledge, it would be advantageous to possess a complete catalogue of the works which were printed and published in this country in their languages during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Charleston is, through a particular combination of circumstances, one of several logical points of departure for a further study of these branches of the foreign language press in the United States. It was, in the first place, the most important center of French culture and activity in the Carolinas, if not in the whole South, in the eighteenth century. Also it is an American city which showed a very interesting congregation of Spanish inhabitants, particularly in the nineteenth century. It recommends itself further from the standpoint of the general interest in early American printing. This by virtue of its having been the eighth city, chronologically, in which printing was established in the British colonies in this country.¹

It is the aim of the present study² to furnish such a catalogue, in the form of a chronological check-list, of works in these lan-

¹ By George Webb, in 1731.

² Space prohibits the mention of all the librarians, bibliographers and others who have so cheerfully aided in the collection of the data requisite for the location and

guages which appeared in one historically important American city. The bibliography includes both original works and translations which were printed, published or copyrighted in Charleston from 1765 to 1886.³ It excludes all material in these categories

collation of the items in the bibliography. The author would be remiss, however, not to note the special services of the following who, it need scarcely be said, are in no way responsible for the disposition of the material rendered available through their cooperation: Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, Director, American Antiquarian Society; Mr. J. Harold Easterby, Professor of History, College of Charleston; Mr. Stanley E. Gwynn, Research Assistant, Newberry Library; Mr. Zoltán Haraszti, Keeper of Rare Books, Boston Public Library; Mr. Robert H. Haynes, Assistant Librarian, Harvard College Library; Miss Ellen FitzSimons, Librarian, Charleston Library Society; Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie, National Editor of the American Imprints Inventory, for his kindness in checking the author's findings against the files of the Historical Records Survey; Mr. Torsten Petersson, Bibliographer, Princeton University Library; Miss Elizabeth L. Porcher, Librarian, South Carolina Collection, University of South Carolina Library; Mr. Paul North Rice, Chief of the Reference Department, New York Public Library; Miss Virginia A. Rugheimer, Assistant Librarian, College of Charleston Library; Mr. A. S. Salley, Secretary, Historical Commission of South Carolina; Mr. George A. Schwegmann, Jr., Director, Union Catalog, Library of Congress; Mr. Willard D. Waters, Bibliographer for Americana, Henry E. Huntington Library; Mr. Lyle H. Wright, Assistant Bibliographer, Henry E. Huntington Library; and finally Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library for his valued suggestions and specifically for his courtesy in reading and criticizing the completed draft of the manuscript.

³ Seven of the eighteenth-century titles are items of secondary bibliography. As such they have been either noted or studied in detail elsewhere, as follows: (1) *Evans* 4: 10032; (2) *id.* 5: 15040; (4) *id.* 9: 26994; (6) *id.* 10: 28409; (7) *id.* 10: 28408; (8) *id.* 10: 29758 and edited by Gilbert Chinard with an introduction by James Brown Scott in *Historical Documents* (Institut Français de Washington, Cahier I), The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928; (9) *Evans* 10: 29278 and discussed by George Parker Winship in "French newspapers in the United States before 1800," in: *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. XIV, part 2 (1920), pp. 132-133.

Of the nineteenth-century works, the following acknowledgements of previous notation (not repeated in the bibliography) are to be made: (16) and (30) are listed by Clarence S. Brigham in "Bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820," in: *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n. s., vol. 34, part XVI (Oct., 1924) and by W. S. Hoole in *A Checklist and Finding List of Charleston Periodicals (1732-1864)*, Durham, N. C., 1936, p. 16; (19) by J. R. Spell in *Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833*, Austin, Texas, 1938, p. 276, No. 5; (23) by Frank Pierce Hill in *American Plays, Printed 1714-1830. A Bibliographical Record*, Stanford University Press, 1934, p. 213; (36) by Howard Mumford Jones in *America and French Culture 1750-1848*, University of North Carolina Press, 1927, p. 578; (51) by A. S. Salley in "Old Charleston imprints," in: *The [Charleston] Sunday News*, Dec. 25, 1898, p. 6; (60) by W. S. Hoole, *op. cit.*, p. 48; (61) Morgan Cal-

which was published in newspapers and periodicals. The present short preface explains the relation of the bibliography to the now generally recognized social conditions in Charleston at the time. It is to be hoped that the publication of such a check-list may bring out the locations of certain items, known to have been published but not now recorded as extant.

In addition to the material that is to be found in those works which treat of the history of printing in the United States but which deal with Charleston printing and publishing in a manner incidental to their general purposes,⁴ several investigators have published monographs that are concerned particularly with that locality.⁵ The majority of the studies in the second category have

loway, Jr., in "Historic studies of the mother tongue in the United States; a survey of the past," in: *University of Texas Studies in English*, vol. 5 (1925), pp. 10-11 and by W. S. Hoole, op. cit., p. 48; (65) by A. S. Salley in "Early Charleston textbooks," in: [Charleston] *News and Courier*, Sept. 10, 1899, p. 10.

⁴ Among such works the following are of notable importance: Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (1639-1820), Chicago, 1903-1934, vols. I-XII (1639-1799). Cf. discussions in prefaces to various volumes; C. F. Heartman, *Checklist of printers in the United States from Stephen Daye to the close of the War of Independence with a list of places in which printing was done*, New York [1915], no. 23 *passim*; D. C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States*, 4 vols., New York; vol. 2 (1936), pp. [307]-336; Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, second edition, 2 vols., Albany, 1874, vol. 2, pp. 169-173; George Parker Winship, "The literature of the history of printing in the United States," in: *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 3, no. 4 (Mar., 1923), pp. [288]-303; id.: "French newspapers in the United States before 1800," loc. cit.; Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, Portland, Maine, 1938, pp. 43-48 *passim*.

⁵ W. S. Hoole, op. cit.; Mrs. Marion Reynolds King: "South Carolina Gazette," in: *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. IX, no. 3 (Sept., 1932), pp. 257-268; W. L. King, *The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C.*, Charleston, 1872; D. C. McMurtrie, "A bibliography of South Carolina imprints (1731-1740)," in: *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 34 (July, 1933), pp. 117-137; id.: *Four South Carolina Imprints of MDCCXXXI*, Chicago, n.d.; id.: "The first decade of printing in the royal province of South Carolina," in: *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 13, no. 4 (March, 1933), pp. [425]-452; W. J. Rivers, "Printing in South Carolina," in: *Russell's Magazine*, vol. III (Sept., 1858), pp. 512-516; A. S. Salley, "Old Charleston imprints," loc. cit.; id.: "Early Charleston textbooks," loc. cit.; id.: "A century of the Courier," in: [Charleston] *News and Courier*, centennial edition, April 20, 1904, pp. 3-11; id.: "The first presses of South Carolina," in: *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. II (1907-08), p. 26-69.

dealt, as of greater bibliographical interest, with the early period of Charleston printing. None of them, however, has given more than a summary treatment to this or to subsequent periods as they are reflected in the printing and publication of works in foreign languages or specifically, as regards the direction of this article, in French or Spanish.⁶ Such an investigation in these special fields is, in my opinion, highly desirable not only from a purely bibliographical viewpoint but especially because of the additional light it may be expected to throw on the cultural *milieu* of the locality. It is, in fact, as one interesting manifestation of Charleston society over a period of more than a century that the present bibliography has been compiled. Place bibliography attains to its true validity only when presented against the sociological background of the people responsible for it; mere catalogues of locally printed books, except for the earliest periods, show but little in themselves.

An accurate interpretation of such a bibliography is limited at the outset by an important consideration. The extremely heterogeneous character of the works that comprise it (a condition naturally expected to obtain in place bibliography) precludes any attempt to draw exaggerated or too far-reaching inferences from single works, or indeed from large and more or less analogous groups of works, as to their significance as cultural indicators. However, certain deductions can reasonably be drawn from examination of the bibliography as a whole, giving special consideration to the predominance of French over Spanish works and to the circumstances that attended their printing and publication.

As we shall presently have occasion to point out, certain accidental circumstances accounted for the printing and publication of a considerable number of these titles. Among factors of this nature may be mentioned an author's or translator's purely accidental or temporary residence in Charleston for a given period, simple convenience in matters of publication or publication in that

⁶ Cf. *supra*, note 3.

city motivated through political expediency, as in the case of polemical works. These may well be presumed to have been, in many instances, as equally important determinants as those which one might, at first blush, be prone to ascribe to a demand for original works or translations on the part of a French or Spanish-speaking or -reading public.

At the risk of a generalization (which, however, is supported by considerable factual and presumptive evidence) it may be asserted that in the case of Charleston, the French works and translations were, from the beginning, clearly the result of social and cultural circumstances of a more or less indigeneous and permanent nature. On the other hand, the Spanish works correspond to no determinable cultural *milieu* peculiar to themselves. They are to be explained, probably without a single exception, as purely fortuitous products of those accidental circumstances enumerated above. In terms of cultural influence it may be reasonably submitted that the ratio which exists between the number of French and Spanish imprints, discovered for the period under discussion, reflects in a fairly accurate manner, the influences of each nationality concerned.

Of the many nationalities that effected the social complexion of that city we are concerned with only two (1) the French, and (2) the Spanish Jews. Neither of these, it may be said in passing, ever played more than an accompanying rôle in comparison with the all-time predominance of English political and cultural influence. The rôle of the French Huguenots in Charleston,⁷ the history of

⁷ Cf. the representative works of: Chas. W. Baird, *History of the French Emigration to America*, 2 vols., New York, 1885; vol. 1, pp. 296-297; vol. 2, pp. 61, 97-98; Gilbert Chinard, *Les réguguiés huguenots en Amérique avec une introduction sur le mirage américain*, Paris, 1925, pp. 185-214; Eliza C. K. Fludd, *Biographical Sketches of the Huguenot, Solomon Legaré*, Charleston, 1886; A. H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, Duke University Press, 1928; Sylvester Primer, "The Huguenot element in Charleston's pronunciation," in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, o. s., vol. 4 (1888-89), pp. 214-244; Henry A. M. Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the first French settlers in South Carolina," in: *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 18,

the Spanish Jewish colony⁸ besides the more general aspects of Franco-American cultural relationships as revealed there⁹ have been, already, too thoroughly elaborated to warrant or necessitate a detailed restatement within the limits of this brief introduction. A few salient facts regarding the French and Spanish populations of the city are, however, requisite for an adequate interpretation of the bibliography. These facts are presented not as new material, in the main, but rather as a basis for weighing, briefly, already accepted hypotheses regarding French and Spanish influences in Charleston. They are to be examined in the light of whatever corroborative or non-corroborative evidence may be drawn from the bibliography itself.

Five main periods of French migration to or within the New World can be pointed out in which Charleston shared to a greater or less degree, along with other important centers of French activity such as Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Worcester, Baltimore and New Orleans. These were, in order, first: the extensive migration of Huguenots (of which the largest number in the South settled in South Carolina)¹⁰ shortly after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685; the second, that of the Acadians;¹¹ the third, a comparatively short influx of Frenchmen following the American Revolution;¹² the fourth group was that made up of émigrés who came here as a result of the Revolution in France

no. 3 (June, 1917), pp. 101-123; Charles Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to Our Own Days*. Translated from the French by Henry William Herbert, 2 vols., New York, 1854; vol. 1, pp. 332-334; vol. 2, pp. 330-333.

⁸ Cf. B. A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1905.

⁹ Cf. in particular, H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Cf. Henry A. M. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹¹ Yates Snowden points out that 1,020 Acadians arrived in Charleston in November, 1756. Cf. *The Carolinian*, vol. 18 (Dec., 1905), pp. 74-81; also, David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina*, 2 vols., Charleston, 1809; vol. 1, p. 15; Ruth A. Hudnut and Hayes Baker-Crothers, "Acadian transients in South Carolina," in: *The American Historical Review*, vol. XLIII, no. 3 (April, 1938), pp. 500-513.

¹² Cf. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

or in Santo Domingo;¹³ and finally there can be mentioned the Bonapartist exiles in America.¹⁴ Aside from these formal movements a more or less continuous infiltration may be presumed to have gone on. This was especially true in the cases of the French centers along the Atlantic seaboard, — in those cities, among which Charleston is to be included, which have traditionally vaunted an Old World culture.

It is of course impossible to determine with any absolute degree of accuracy the number of French inhabitants in Charleston for a given period. Even in the case of the Huguenots, whose history has been so extensively investigated, the data concerning this matter are not free from contradictions.¹⁵ It seems plausible, however, that the St. Julien-Ravenel list of Huguenots desiring naturalization gives the most accurate figure for its period. This list was drawn up about 1695–1696 and contains the names of one hundred and fifty-four heads of families.¹⁶ Aside from their possible religious influence there is little to guide us in regard to the intellectual contributions of this group. Here again the authorities show a considerable divergence of opinion. William E. Dodd asserts that “an important racial element was contributed to the life of South Carolina by the French Huguenots of high intellectual endowment and even literary culture, whose ancestors had driven in family coaches and had read good books for three generations.”¹⁷ Sylvester Primer questions this high intellectual endow-

¹³ Cf. Samuel Hazard, *Santo Domingo Past and Present with a Glance at Hayti*, London, 1873, pp. 113–153; G. P. Winship, “French newspapers in the United States before 1800,” loc. cit.

¹⁴ Cf. Edith Philips, *Les réfugiés Bonapartistes en Amérique* (1815–1830), Paris, n.d.

¹⁵ Cf. H. M. Jones, op. cit., pp. 96–102; p. 102, note 103.

¹⁶ Cf. Daniel Ravenel, ed., *Liste des François et Suisses*, New York, 1888, p. 43: “This list, with that in Ramsay’s *History of South Carolina* and that in the Act of 1696 (‘An Act for making Aliens free of this Part of the Province and for Granting Liberty of Conscience to all Protestants’) will probably afford the names of most, if not all, of the class of settlers who made this state their asylum immediately after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.”

¹⁷ *The Cotton Kingdom* (Chronicles of America Series), New Haven, 1919, p. 17.

ment and literary culture when he states, "the probability is that they brought few books with them and maintained no French schools in their new home. They certainly produced nothing of a literary nature. Only a few public documents, mostly wills, can be found in French."¹⁸ Gilbert Chinard goes even farther in questioning their intellectual endowments. While he considers that the influence of the French refugees on the formation of the American people was probably far from negligible, he rejects many of the tempting hypotheses of Baird,¹⁹ Lodge²⁰ and Fosdick²¹ in this regard and concludes that they are doubtless based on uncritical, *a priori* conceptions of French character. He says, "mais sans grande culture eux-mêmes, et sans contact avec la vie intellectuelle de la France, leur influence fut encore sur ce point nécessairement très limitée . . . les historiens des Huguenots sont probablement allés beaucoup trop loin dans cette direction."²²

We may now glance briefly at other evidence of a considerable and relatively permanent French population in Charleston, exclusive of the Huguenot group, for the period covered by this bibliography. Here again definite figures are more than often lacking. Memoirs, contemporary dispatches, official papers, travel accounts and newspaper insertions furnish an abundance of scattered testimony that is very helpful and important in its totality.

An anonymous writer of the period of the American Revolution²³ writes as follows of his arrival in Charleston: "As soon as

¹⁸ Op. cit., pp. 221-222.

¹⁹ Op. cit., vol. II, pp. 252-254.

²⁰ H. C. Lodge, "The Huguenot migration in America," in: *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. LV (June, 1885), pp. 843-846.

²¹ L. J. Fosdick, *The French Blood in America*, New York, 1906, p. 423.

²² Op. cit., p. 217.

²³ *Memoirs by one of the French officers who accompanied the Marquis de La Fayette to America*, etc. Despatched from Philadelphia, 12 September, 1777. (Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Etats-Unis, IV, no. 152, fol. 425) In: B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America*, 25 vols., London, 1889-1898, no. 754. Page 1 of the original.

we said we were French officers, impelled only by the desire for glory and to defend their liberty, we were held in scorn by the populace and treated as adventurers, even by the French, who are to be found in great numbers in Charleston.”²⁴ In 1791 several hundred refugees from Santo Domingo came to Charleston and concerning these we have the testimony of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt who states, “Charleston is, as I have said, filled with French, the colonists from Santo Domingo and corsaires.”²⁵ On the authority of McCrady²⁶ we learn that the French from Santo Domingo “were soon taking an active part in the city’s life, and many of them being accomplished, became teachers of the arts and sciences, and gave lessons in music, painting and the languages.” An endless succession of newspaper notices for this period gives evidence of the activities of these *petits maîtres*, of which the following are typical. In the [Charleston] *State Gazette of South Carolina* for November 15, 1790, we see that “Mr Carte, minister of the French Church, proposes to board a few young gentlemen, whom he will teach to read, write and speak the French tongue,” an insertion for May 5, 1791 [ibid.] is one of the many advertisements for Nixon’s Academy: “Mr Nixon’s French usher will attend regularly at his home, no. 26 King-street.” January 5, 1792 [ibid.] “Charleston College . . . having elected the Rev. Mr Corot professor of French, that language will be taught.”²⁷ Mr Nixon again advertises on May 28, 1794 [ibid.] “for an assistant well qualified to teach French, Spanish and English” and on January 30 of the same year [ibid.] we find the following

²⁴ He adds [ibid] an interesting commentary on their characters: “la plupart de ces françois sont des officiers perdus de dettes, plusieurs chassés de leur corps.”

²⁵ *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis d’Amérique fait en 1795, 1796 et 1797*, 8 vols., Paris, l’an VII de la République [1799], vol. IV, p. 70.

²⁶ Cf. Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century*, Columbia, S. C., 1924, pp. 234-235.

²⁷ Cf. H. M. Jones, op. cit., p. 209. Jones, following Charles Hart Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States* (United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1913, no. 3, whole number 510), p. 14, would seem to imply that French was not taught formally in Charleston until 1820.

notice: "Instruction en Française (*sic*) Mr Nixon prend la liberté de faire savoir aux citoyens Français etc." On December 3, 1795 [*ibid.*] we are informed that "one who wants employment . . . will have no objection to teaching French in a private family." The *Sunday Gazette* for December 30 of the same year informs us that "Mrs Foster is teaching the French language" and that "elle desirait trouver une femme qui entend faire de la brodure."

Whatever the total number of French inhabitants in Charleston may have been for any given period, there is no evidence that the language persisted as an actively spoken tongue, even within that group, beyond the latter years of the eighteenth century.²⁸ Since the great majority of the French were refugees, the natural pull of circumstances would be presumed to work for a speedy loss of the native tongue by virtue of social and economic pressure and the desire or need for assimilation. As early in the century as September, 1737, the South Carolina Society, the original members of which were, for the most part, French Huguenots, adopted the name "Carolina Club" and admitted the English language and shortly afterwards (1738) the French language was completely excluded.²⁹

Exception must be taken to the contention of Sylvester Primer³⁰ that the French churches are the surest guide to the duration of the French language in South Carolina. "For as long," he asserts, "as the people generally spoke French, or even understood it, the

²⁸ In substantiation of this opinion we find the following notice in the *South Carolina Gazette* for Oct. 3, 1774: "To the worthy families, descendants of the French Protestants, formerly inhabitants of this town; the zeal and piety of whose ancestors built the French Church yet standing. Peter Levrier, present pastor of the church, observing, with infinite regret, its decay and almost utter dissolution, owing as he supposes, to the general disuse of the French tongue . . . takes this liberty to offer his service to the descendants of the French refugees, and to as many others as shall employ him, to instruct their children in the most complete manner in the French language. . . ."

²⁹ Cf. J. H. Easterby, *The Rules of the South Carolina Society*, published by the Society, Baltimore, 1937, pp. 22-25.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

service would be conducted in that language." The French Huguenot Church in Charleston did not finally abandon the French service until 1828³¹ but it is highly questionable whether this is evidence of more than a traditional or fashionable perpetuation of a cherished custom well beyond a time when such services were universally understood even within this selected group. At all odds it cannot be taken as indicative of a wide use of French generally for so late a period, — certainly not among the third or fourth generations of Huguenots.³²

The only formally constituted group of Spanish inhabitants in Charleston during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the members of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish settlement there. This group, which eventually became the Beth Elolim congregation, was practically an offshoot of the old Spanish and Portuguese community of Bevis Marks, London. From modest beginnings (there having been at least one Jew in Charleston before 1695 and several before 1700) the colony grew until by the beginning of the nineteenth century "the Jewish community of Charleston was the largest, the most cultivated and wealthiest Jewish community in America."³³ Processes of assimilation seem to have worked even more quickly in this group than with the French. The Spanish language, however long it was extensively spoken among them, cannot be seen to have taken form in published works for which they either as a group or as individuals were directly responsible. As late as 1820 a part of the Jewish service was still in mongrel Spanish, which no one understood, and with the organization of the "Reformed Society of Israelites" in 1824, changes were introduced in the mode of worship so that a

³¹ Cf. Chas. S. Vedder, *Charleston Year Book*, 1885, p. 307.

³² Members of St. Matthew's Luthern Church testify to a similar situation with regard to the use of German. They recall that as children there was a monthly service in that language with a noticeable falling off in attendance on such Sundays. Furthermore catechistical instruction was long given in German but this practice was finally abandoned since it had become wholly ineffectual and a matter of rote.

³³ Cf. Elzas, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

considerable portion of the prayers would be in English, — with an eye to better understanding.³⁴

With the foregoing social and linguistic background in mind we can proceed logically to a statistical and comparative analysis of the bibliography itself. This shows the following facts. For the one hundred and twenty-one year period covered by the check-list (1765–1886) there have been discovered seventy works represented by eighty-three volumes.³⁵ Numerically, this material can be broken down as follows: in French, twenty-six; French translations, thirty-two; in Spanish, six; Spanish translations, five; polyglot journals, two. If for the period treated by the Evans *Bibliography* we consider only the years 1731–1799 (the first date corresponding to the establishment of printing in South Carolina) we have a basis of comparison between Charleston and other centers of French and Spanish activity. For these sixty-eight years Philadelphia leads all American cities with two hundred and twenty French and Spanish imprints; New York has sixty-four; Boston, fifty-three; Worcester, thirteen; Charleston, eleven; and Baltimore, ten.

Analyzed from the standpoint of subject matter the Charleston imprints for the year 1765–1886 can be classified as follows:

<i>In French</i>	<i>Imprints</i>	<i>Numbers in appended list</i>
Masonic <i>Tableaux</i>	14:	(11), (14–15), (20–22), (25–28), (31–34).
Newspapers	4:	(9–10), (16), (30).
Patriotic-commemorative	3:	(5), (49), (67).
Religious	2:	(6), (62).
Apologetical	1:	(1).
Treaties	1:	(8).
Literary philosophical	1:	(51).

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 161–162.

³⁵ To avoid intricate and confusing complication, the “number of works” is to be construed as including both extant titles and unauthenticated ones. Furthermore, to avoid a false impression of bulk, the “number of volumes” has not been increased by counting the total number of volumes of the newspapers. Each paper is counted as

French Translations

Religious	9: (7), (13), (37), (52), (54), (58), (62), (66), (68).
Miscellaneous treatises	5: (2), (36), (40), (56), (64).
Sociological	3: (3), (57), (63).
Medical treatises	3: (50), (53), (55).
Pedagogical	4: (46-48), (65).
Treaties-diplomatic correspondence	2: (4), (8).
Biographical	2: (17-18).
Dramatic	1: (23).
Fictional	1: (24).
Memoirs	1: (29).
Erudite epics	1: (59).

In Spanish

Sociological	2: (12), (19).
Pedagogical	2: (35), (39).
Polemical	1: (38).
Historical	1: (41).

Spanish Translations

Historical	1: (42).
Miscellaneous treatises	1: (44).
Pedagogical	3: (43), (45-46).

Polyglot Journals

2: (60-61).

Though a Spanish version of Rousseau's *Social Contract* (bibl. no. 12) may have appeared with a Charleston imprint as early as 1800, its authenticity is highly dubious and doubtless as in the case of his *Discourse on Inequality* (bibl. no. 19) we have false imprints, the work of Latin-American presses.

It may be asserted, in conclusion, that the bibliography supports the historical facts concerning the French and Spanish populations of Charleston during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The period around 1795 shows the largest number of

one volume. French grammars are listed with the French translations and Spanish grammars with the Spanish translations except no. 35. In the two cases where parallel texts in French and English are published (8, 62) the works are listed both with the originals and with the translations. Polyglot journals form a separate category.

works in French, a situation paralleled in other centers of French activity in America. At the end of the eighteenth century the number of translations increases rapidly and works in French after 1800 are sporadic. The *Tableaux* of the French lodges in Charleston, which have been discovered intermittently from 1789 to as late as 1810, represent a formal and conservative element and the next to the last item in the check-list (no. 67), an address in French on Washington's Birthday, 1874, must have had, at so late a date, something of the air of a *tour de force*.

The comparatively small number of Spanish imprints corresponds to the absence of any large, formal or continuous congregation of Spanish or Latin-American peoples in Charleston. It must be borne in mind that the Jewish colony, though large by comparison with other such groups in America, represented but a small fraction of Charleston's population. Furthermore, the bibliography shows that over half of the Spanish imprints are the productions of a single individual, a transient as it were, and what is more significant, a professional pedagogue and man of letters.³⁶

It is difficult to say exactly to what extent these works in French and Spanish were published in Charleston to meet a local demand and this is indeed a point of great interest. It can be pointed out though that only one fictional work (a French translation, bibl. no. 24) was printed there, in sharp contrast to the other American centers of French life noted above, where fictional works, in the original or in translation, appeared in great profusion from an early date. The bibliography suggests the conclusion that no literary works in French were published by the early French inhabitants.³⁷ However, that they exerted, through their language and particular interests a definite and ultimately tangible intellectual

³⁶ The author has already collected a considerable amount of material about Augustín de Letamendi, diplomat, pedagogue and man of letters — representative by virtue of his multifarious activities, of many of the expatriates of his period — which he proposes to publish in the near future, in the form of a critical-biographical essay.

³⁷ Some such works may, of course, have existed and have been subsequently lost.

influence, is unquestionable in the light of the comparatively large number of translations that appeared after 1800, the majority of them the work of local Charlestonians.

ABBREVIATIONS

CsmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CSt-L	Lane Medical Library, Stanford University, Stanford University, Calif.
DSC	Supreme Council of the Thirty-third Degree, Washington, D. C.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
IaCrM	Iowa Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
IEG	Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
LNB	Baptist Bible Institute Library, New Orleans, La.
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MBC	Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
MBN	Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, D. F.
MdBE	Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, Md.
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
MNF	Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.
MNtCA	Andover Newton Theological Library, Newton, Mass.
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
NcAS	Sondley Reference Library, Ashville, N. C.
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N. C.
NcU	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
NNFM	Grand Lodge of N. Y., F. & A. M., Library, New York, N. Y.
NHi	New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPFM	Pennsylvania Masonic Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPL-R	Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPPLT	Luthern Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPPrHi	Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
ScC	Charleston Library Society, Charleston, S. C.
ScCC	College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.
ScCCH	Confederate Home Library, Charleston, S. C.
ScCHS	Huguenot Society of South Carolina Library, Charleston, S. C.
ScCMC	Medical College of the State of South Carolina, Charleston, S. C.
ScHi	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.
ScU	University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
TxU	University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
Z	Copyright Record Book, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

1.

LA MOTTE, DOUIN DE. *Mémoire apolegetique*, de M. Douin de la Motte, Chevalier, Capitaine d'une Compagnie detaché (*sic*) de la Marine, Au Cap, Ile St. Domingue: Contenant, Ses Grieffs contre Monsieur le Comte d'Estaing, Commandeur des Ordres du Roy tres Chretien, et representant sa Personne a St. Domingue, et Les Raisons qui le forçent a venir chercher un Azile dans les Etats du Roy d'Angleterre. A Charleston, de l'Imprimerie de Pierre Timothée, M, DCC, LXV.

4to. A-B⁴, C⁸. 21 pp. 192 x 160 mm.

CSmH, PHⁱ, PPL-R

2.

RAFEAU. [Indigorier, or art of making indigo. Translated from the French of Rafeau. Charleston: 1776.]

No copy located.

Evans 5: 15040

3.

[BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANA, MARCHESE DI (1738-1794).] An essay on crimes and punishments. Translated from the Italian; with a commentary, attributed to Mons. de Voltaire. Translated from the French. [Three lines from] Bacon. State of South Carolina. Printed and sold by David Bruce, at his shop in Church-Street, Charleston, MDCCLXXVII.

8vo in 4s. A⁴, []², B-U⁴, X². xii, 155 pp. 186 x 110 mm.

CSmH, DLC

Voltaire's commentary is published in Morland, vol. XXV, 539 ff. In Morland the work consists of XXIII sections. *Incipit*: "J'étais plein de la lecture du petit livre etc." *Desinet*: "perfectionner les lois dont nos vies et nos fortunes dépendent."

4.

FRANCE. REPUBLIC. The correspondence between citizen Genet, minister of the French Republic, to the United States of North America and the officers of the federal government. . . . Charleston: Printed by Markland, M'Iver & Co. no. 47, Bay. MDCCXCIV.

8vo. A-B⁴, C². 19 pp. 160 x 98 mm.

MHⁱ

5.

FRANCE. REPUBLIC. Relation de l'Anniversaire de la Fédération du 14 Juillet 1789: Ce'le'bre'e a C[h]arleston, le Sextidi 26 Messidor, l'An 3e de la République Française, Une & Indivisible, 14 Juillet 1795 (V. S.)

MEMOIRE APOLEGETIQUE,

D E

M. DOUIN DE LA MOTTE, Chevalier,

Capitaine d'une Compagnie detachée de la Marine,

Au Cap, Ile St. Domingue :

C O N T E N A N T,

Ses Griefs contre Monsieur le Comte d'Estaing, Commandeur
des Ordres du Roy très Chretien, et representant sa Per-
sonne a St. Domingue,

E T

Les Raisons qui le forcent a venir chercher un Azile dans
les Etats du Roy d'Angleterre.



A CHARLESTON, de l'Imprimerie de PIERRE TIMOTHEE,

M,DCC,LXV.

AN
ESSAY

Sylvester G. O'NEILL
CRIMES

AND

PUNISHMENTS,

Translated from the ITALIAN;

WITH A

COMMENTARY,

Attributed to MONSIEUR DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

In rebus quibuscumque difficilioribus non expectandum, ut quis
simul, & ferat, & metat, sed preparatione opus est, ut per gradus
maturefiant. BACON.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

PRINTED AND SOLD BY DAVID BRUCE, AT
HIS SHOP IN CHURCH-STREET, CHARLESTOWN.

MDCCLXXV.

[Colophon p. 4:] A Charleston, de l'Imprimerie de Béleurgey, Queen street, No. 100, l'An IIIe de la République Française.

Sm. 4to. 4 pp.

RPJCB

6.

L'EGLISE PROTESTANTE FRANÇAISE. [Les trois hymnes qui doivent etre chantées dans l'Eglise Savoir. 1 La salut de l'Empire. 2 L'hymne a l'Etre Supreme. 3 L'hymne des Marseillois. Charleston, a l'Imprimerie de Timothy & Mason. 1795]

No copy located.

Evans 10: 28409

7.

L'EGLISE PROTESTANTE FRANÇAISE. [The confession of faith of the French people. Charleston: Printed by Timothy and Mason. 1795.]

No copy located.

Evans 10: 28408

8.

UNITED STATES. TREATIES. Treaties of alliance, amity & commerce, between the United States of America, and the French government, with a convention between the French government, and the United States of America, for the purpose of defining and establishing the functions and privileges of their respective consuls and vice-consuls. Also, an extract from the register of the decrees of the committee of public safety, of the National Convention. [Ornament] Charleston: Printed by Béleurgey, No. 100 Queen street. 1795.

8vo. []², A-D⁴, D[E]⁴, F². [2], [2], 40, iv pp. 215 x 135 mm.

PHi

Second title: Traités d'alliance, d'amitié & de commerce, entre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique et le gouvernement français, avec une convention entre le gouvernement français et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, a l'effet de déterminer & fixer les fonctions & prérogatives des consuls & vice-consuls respectifs. Aussi, un extrait du registre des décrets du comité de salut public de la Convention Nationale. [Ornament] A Charleston: de l'Imprimerie de Béleurgey, Queen street, No. 100. L'An IIIe de la République Française.

9.

LE PATRIOTE FRANCAIS. Vol. II, No. II. Charleston, le 5 Thermidor (Jeudi 23 Juillet, V. S.) an 3e de la République Française, Une & Indivisible. [Colophon p. 4:] A Charleston, de l'Imprimerie de Béleurgey, Queen Street, maison Nixon, ou l'on s'abonne a l'année, 8 gourdes; six

mois, 4 gourdes, & un mois, 1 gourde, Franc de Port.-On insere, dans cette Gazette, tous les Avis, Annonces, Demandes &c.

Sm. 4to. 4 pp.

RPJCB

10.

[THE CITY JOURNAL OF AMERICAN AND FRENCH GAZETTE.]

No copy located. Proposals for publication are found in the [Charleston] *Columbian Herald* for Wednesday, July 13, 1796, as follows: "To the public. Béleurgey, Lewis & Co. inform the inhabitants of Charleston, and the public in general that they intend publishing on the 25th instant a News-Paper entitled *The City Journal or American and French Gazette* . . . will be published on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays . . . advertisements, articles of intelligence, for this paper will be published in French and English."

11.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. [Enclosure of type ornaments] Loge Française de la Candeur No. 12. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St-Jean, sous le titre distinctif de la Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston Caroline-du-Sud, le 24eme Jour du 6eme Mois, 5796, sous la Protection Special [*sic*] de la Grande Loge de Free and Accepted Masons de cet état. 27eme Jour du 10eme Mois de l'an 5798. [1798] [Three lines from] Solomon Lib. Sap. Charleston: Imprimé par J. A. Dacqueny, Imprimeur.

8vo. 8 pp. 180 x 115 mm.

DSC

12.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES (1712-1778). [El contrato social. Por J. J. Rusó. Charleston(?), *circa* 1800(?).]

No copy located. In regard to this hypothetical imprint consult J. R. Spell, op. cit., pp. 282-283, entry no. 39. Professor Spell has never seen this volume but in his work he reviews the presumptive evidence in support of its possible existence. For this data he was indebted to Dean Christian Gauss of Princeton University and to the late Professor Charles Carroll Marden, of the same institution.

13.

BONNET, CHARLES (1720-1793). Conjectures concerning the nature of future happiness. Translated from the French of Mons. Bonnet of Geneva. Charleston: Printed by John Nelson Dixon, no. 3, Broad-Street, 1800.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, B-D⁴. 32 pp. 165 x 100 mm.

ScC

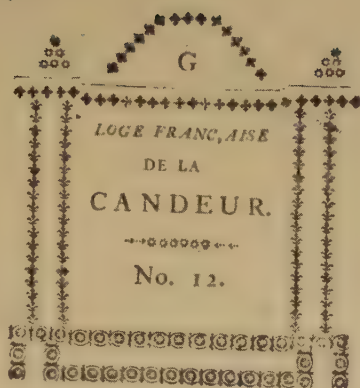


TABLEAU
DE LA T. R. LOGE DE ST-JEAN,

SOUS LE TITRE DISTINCTIF

DE LA CANDEUR,

No. 12, établie à Charleston Caroline-du-Sud,
le 24^{ème}. Jour du 6^{ème}. Mois, 5796,

Sous la Protection Special de la GRANDE LOGE
de Free and Accepted Masons de cet Etat.
27^{ème}. Jour du 10^{ème}. Mois de l'An 5798.

*"In manu Dei, et nos, et Sermones
Nostris, et omnes Sapientia et operum
Scientia et Disciplina,*

SALOMON LIB. S. S. P.

CHARLESTON:
IMPRIMERIE PAR J. A. D'ACQUENY, IMPRIMEUR.

14.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) le 24eme jour du 6eme mois, 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la Grande Loge Provinciale de Free and Accepted Masons de cet état, le premier Jour du Neuvième Mois 5801 [1801] [Three lines from] Solomon Lib. Sap. Charleston: Imprimé par Ambroise Dacqueney. MDCCCI.

8vo. 3 pp. 180 x 111 mm.

DSC

15.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) le 24eme jour du 6eme mois, 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la Grande Loge Provinciale de Free and Accepted Masons de cet état, le treizième Jour du Dixième Mois 5801 [1801] [Three lines from] Solomon Lib. Sap. Charleston: Imprimé par Ambroise Dacqueney. MDCCCI.

8vo. 6 pp. 180 x 111 mm.

DSC

16.

L'ECHO DU SUD. MONITEUR FRANCAIS. Tri-weekly. April-July 15, 1801 (Vol. I, No. 37). Ed. [Jean] Dacqueney and [Alexander] Bourgeois. Entirely in French save for a few bilingual and English advertisements.

Fol. 4 pp. 340 x 245-260 mm.

MH [Ebeling Collection] vol. I, nos. 28, 30, 32-37.

17.

[DUBROCA, LOUIS (1753-1831).] Life of Bonaparte, first consul of France, from his birth to the Peace of Luneville. To which is added, an account of his remarkable actions, replies, speeches and traits of character, with anecdotes of his different campaigns. Translated from the French. Charleston: Printed by Crow and Query. 1802.

12mo. b⁸, A¹², B-P⁶, P[Q]-Z⁶, Aa-Dd⁶, Ee⁴. xiii, 355 pp. 153 x 100 mm.

MWA, ScC, ScU

18.

DUBROCA, LOUIS (1753-1831). The life of Toussaint Louverture, late general-in-chief and governor of the island of Saint Domingo; with

many particulars never before published: to which is subjoined, an account of the first operations of the French army, under General Le Clerc. Translated from the French, by N. Herbemont, teacher of the French language, on Sullivan's Island. Charleston, Printed by T. B. Bowen. 1802.

Format uncertain. []², A-C⁸, D¹, B[E]⁷, E[F]³. 70 pp. 174 x 100 mm.

PPAmP, ScC

19.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES (1712-1778). Discurso sobre el origen y fundamentos de la desigualdad entre los hombres. Por J. J. Rusó, ciudadano de Ginebra. En Charleston. Año MDCCCIII.

Copy unavailable for collation during summer of 1939.

MBN

20.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) le 24eme jour du 6eme mois 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la Grande Loge Provinciae [*sic*] de Free and Accepted Masons de cet état, le treizième Jour du dixième Mois 5803 [1803] [Three lines from] Solomon Lib. Sap. Charleston: Imprimé par Crow & Query. 1803.

12mo. []⁴, B². 12 pp. 176 x 114 mm.

DSC

21.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) le 24eme jour du 6eme mois, 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la Grande Loge Provinciale de Free & Accepted Masons de cet état, établie et constituée A. M. 5735. Charleston, le 11eme jour du 10eme [mois] A. M. 5803 [1803]. Imprimé par J. Dacqueny. 1804.

4to. 10 p. 173 x 115 mm.

DSC, laCrM

22.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA REUNION FRANÇAISE. Tableau des F. F. qui composent la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le t[it]re distinctif de la loge Reunion Française, No. 45, seanté à l'O de Charleston, regulièrement constituée par la G. Mère Loge de l'état de la Caroline du Sud, Anciens-York-Maçons, et installée le 10eme

jour du 6eme Mois M. 5799. Charleston: Imprimé par J. Dacqueney. 1804.

4to. 7 pp. 178 x 118 mm.

DSC

23.

FLAREAU. The Ocean Spectre, an entire new melo drame in five acts. Intersperced with songs, chorusses &c. [Six lines of poetry] Translated from the French of *Le Spectre de l'Océan*. Written by Flareau. Copyright secured according to law. [Charleston, 1804].

No [Charleston] copy located.

Z

There is no conclusive evidence of a Charleston edition of this work. Evans 10: 29231 gives: *The Ocean Spectre*. A play. New York, 1795. Copies (all n.d. and with title-pages that are identical with the above transcription) are held by the Boston Public Library, the Harvard College Library, the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress. In the catalogue of the Boston Public Library the item is listed with "Cromwell" as the author and the date of publication as 1831. This information was taken from the McKee sale catalogue, at which auction the library acquired the book.

The source of our Charleston 1804 copyright entry is a copyright record book in the collection of the University of South Carolina. This may presumably be one of the Charleston district court record books although positive identification is made difficult by the fact that the first few pages (and a title-page, if any) are missing. Mr. Gerald D. McDonald of the New York Public Library has suggested to the author that Evans' date for the play may be too early on the typographical evidence of the modern "s" which is used throughout the work. However, until an extant copy of a Charleston edition of later date comes to light, we must accept Evans' authority for a New York edition of 1795 and conclude perhaps that an enterprising South Carolina publisher later copyrighted the play in 1804.

24.

BARTHELEMY, JEAN JACQUES, L'ABBÉ (1716-1795). Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece. During the middle of the fourth century, before the Christian aera. Translated from the French. In four volumes. First American edition. Philadelphia-Charleston: John Hoff, 1804.

8vo in 48. 210 x 130 mm.

MNF

Vol. I. []⁴, B⁵, C-Z⁴, B[Bb]⁴, Cc-Tt⁴, U[Uu]⁴, Xx-Zz⁴, 3A-3H⁴, 3I². xviii, 419 pp.

Vol. II. []⁴, B-Z⁴, Aa-Zz⁴, 3A-3E⁴, 3F². iii, 403 pp.

Vol. III. []⁴, B-Z⁴, Aa-Zz⁴, 3A-3N⁴. vii, 463 pp.

Vol. IV. []⁴, A-Z⁴, Aa-Yy⁴, 3A-3R⁴. vii, 496 pp.

Advertised in the [Charleston] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, January 26, 1805, as follows: "Just published, and sold at J. Hoff's bookstore, no. 119, Broadstreet, fourth door above the South-Carolina State Bank, Travels of Anacharsis in Greece, handsomely printed on fine wove paper, and neatly bound in 4 volumes, 8vo. Till the 29th February the work will be sold at the original subscription price of only eight dollars the set, after which it will be raised. . . ."

25.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) Etats Unis d'Amérique, le 24eme jour du 6eme mois M. 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la T. R. G. L. des Françs & Acceptés Maçons de cet état, election du 23eme jour du 10eme mois M. 5804 [1804]. Charleston: de l'Imprimerie de G. M. Bounetheaux. 1805.

16mo. 15 pp. 154 x 90 mm.

DSC

26.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) Etats Unis d'Amérique, le 24eme jour du 6eme mois M. 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la T. R. G. L. des Françs & Acceptés Maçons de cet état. Charleston: de l'Imprimerie de Bounetheaux. 1806.

8vo. 16 pp. 170 x 109 mm.

DSC

27.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) Etats Unis d'Amérique, le 24eme jour du 6eme mois M. 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la T. R. G. L. des Françs & Acceptés Maçons de cet état pour l'année 1807. Charleston, de l'Imprimerie de Bounetheaux.

16mo. 16 pp. 173 x 95 mm.

DSC, IaCrM

28.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA REUNION FRANÇAISE. Tableau des F. F. qui composent la R. L. de S Jean, sous le titre distinctif de La Reunion Française, No. 45, seanté à l'O de Charleston regulière-

ment constituée par la G. mère loge de l'état de la Caroline du Sud, Anciens-York-Maçons et installée le 10eme jour du 6eme mois M. 5799. A Charleston, de l'Imprimerie du F. J. J. Negrin. 1807.

12mo. 9 pp. 166 x 99 mm.

DS C

29.

MARMONTEL, JEAN FRANÇOIS (1723-1799). Memoirs of Marmontel, written by himself, containing his literary and political life, and anecdotes of the principal characters of the eighteenth century. First American edition. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Printed by Abel Dickinson, for E. Morford, Charleston, 1807.

12mo. 177 x 107 mm.

SC C

Vol. I. []², B-T⁶, []². 217 pp.

Vol. II. []², B-S⁶, T². 208 pp.

30.

L'ORACLE FRANCAIS-AMERICAIN; L'ORACLE. Semi- and tri-weekly. Ed. J[ohn] J. Negrin. Jan. 1-Dec. 8, 1807. Folio, under first title and with French and English in parallel columns, Jan. 1, 1807-Feb. 14(?); 4to, under second title, again with alternate French and English, July 7-Dec. 8 (vol. I, no. 136).

Fol. 4 pp. 450 x 280 mm. 4to. 4 pp. 280 x 230 mm.

MH Jan. 1-Dec. 8, 1807 with gaps.

NNH*i* Jan. 15, 26, 29; Feb. 2, 12-Oct. 8, 24; Nov. 21; Dec. 5, 1807.

31.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St. Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 12, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) Etats Unis d'Amérique, le 24eme jour du 6eme mois M. 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la T. R. & [*sic*] L. des franç et acceptés maçons de cet état, pour l'année 1808. De l'Imprimerie de Bounetheaux.

16mo. 16 pp. 151 x 94 mm.

DS C

32.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St Jean de Jerusalem, sous le ti[t]re distinct[if] de la loge française La Candeur, No. 36, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) Etats Unis d'Amérique, le 24e jour de [*sic*] M. M. 5796, sous la Pro-

tection Speciale de la T. R. G. L. de la Caroline-du-Sud, pour l'anné [*sic*] 1809. A Charleston: de l'Imprimerie de P. Freneau & Co. 1809.

8vo. []⁴, B⁴. 14 pp. 180 x 111 mm.

DSC, IaCrM

33.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA REUNION FRANÇAISE. Tableau des F. F. qui composent la T. R. L. La Reunion Française, ci-devant No. 45 et présentement No. 40, seanté à l'O de Charleston reguielerément [*sic*] constituée par la G. M. L. de l'état de la Caroline du Sud, et installée le 10eme jour du 6e mois M. 5799, election du 27e [jour] du 10e mois M. 5808. A Charleston: Imprimé par P. Freneau & Co. 44 Bay. 1809.

8vo. 8 pp. 179 x 112 mm.

DSC

34.

FREEMASONS. SOUTH CAROLINA. LOGE, LA CANDEUR. Tableau de la T. R. Loge de St Jean de Jerusalem, sous le titre distinctif de la loge française La Candeur, No. 36, établie à Charleston (Caroline-du-Sud) Etats Unis d'Amérique, le 24e jour de [*sic*] 6e M. M. 5796, sous la Protection Speciale de la T. R. G. L. de la Caroline-du-Sud, pour l'anné [*sic*] 1810. A Charleston: de l'Imprimerie de G. M. Bounetheaux.

12mo. []², A⁶. 15 pp. 155 x 90 mm.

DSC, IaCrM, PPFM

35.

[Elementos de la lengua inglesa para uso de los españoles. Charleston(?). 1810(?).]

No copy located. Advertised in the *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 31, 1810, as "Just published and for sale by E. Morford, Willington & Co., no. 133, Broad-Street."

36.

CHAPTAL, JEAN ANTOINE, COMTE DECHANTELOUP (1756-1832). A treatise upon wines. By M. Chaptal, ci-devant Minister of the Interior of France; at present, Grand Chancellor of the Senate, Consellor of State, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor etc. Translated from the French by John Sargent. Charleston. Printed by John H. Sargent, Johnsons Row. MDCCCXI.

4to. [B]-Y⁴. viii, 176 pp. 130 x 86 mm.

MB

37.

ROBINSON, ROBERT, AND OTHERS, *trans.* Sermons. Translated from the

original French of the late Rev. James Saurin, pastor of the French church at the Hague. 8 vols. 1811-1818.

12mo. 180 x 103 mm.

CSmH, vii; *IEG*, iv; *MBC*, i-viii; *MWA*, i-vii; *NcD*, i-iii, v-viii; *NcAS*, v; *PPLT*, i-viii; *PPPrH²*, i-viii.

Vol. I. On the attributes of God. [One line from] St. Peter. By the Rev. Robert Robinson. Charleston, (S. C.). Printed and published by J. Hoff, no. 6, Broad-Street. 1811.

[]², B-C⁶, C[D]-Bb⁶, Cc⁴. xlv, [47]-309 pp.

Vol. II. Title-page varies only in: On the truth of revelation.

[]², A-Cc⁶, Dd⁴. iv, [5]-324 pp.

Vol. III. Title-page varies only in: On the principal doctrines of Christianity and in the date, which is: 1812.

[]², B-Cc⁶, Dd². iv, [5]-307 pp.

Vol. IV. Title-page varies only in: On Christian morality and in the date, which is: 1812.

[]², B², C-Z⁶, Aa-Bb⁶, C[Cc]². iv, [5]-288 pp.

Vol. V. Title-page varies only in: On various subjects and in the date, which is: 1812.

[]⁴, C-Aa⁶, Dd[Bb]⁴. iv, [5]-291 pp.

Vol. VI. Title-page varies only in: On sacramental occasions and in: By Henry Hunter, D.D. pastor of the Scots Church, London-Wall and in the date, which is: 1812.

[]², B-Aa⁶. iv, [5]-277 pp.

Vol. VII. Title-page varies only in: On important subjects and in: By Joseph Sutcliffe and in the date, which is: 1812.

[]², B⁴, C-Aa⁶. vi, [7]-275 pp.

This volume contains a ten-page error in pagination which begins at E 1^r and is continued. The pagination is ten pages short.

Vol. VIII. Title-page varies only in: By Joseph Sutcliffe and in: On various subjects: with a general index. Second American edition and in the date, which is: 1818. Printed and published by J. Hoff, no. 118, Broad-Street.

[]⁴, B-U⁶, X². vi, [7]-236 pp.

38.

ÁLVAREZ DE TOLEDO [Y DUBOIS], JOSÉ. Objeciones satisfactorias del mundo imparcial al folleto dado a luz por el marte-filósofo de Delaware Don José Álvarez de Toledo, reimpresso, con notas explanatorias, [por el Licdo Terso Machuca] en Charleston. Enero, 1812.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, B-L⁴, M². 92 pp. 202 x 125 mm.

DLC

Second title: Manifiesto o satisfacción pundonorosa a todos los buenos españoles europeos y a todos los pueblos de la América, por un diputado de las Cortes reunidas en Cadiz. [José Álvarez de Toledo] [Ornament] [Two lines from] Meléndez.

Third title: Manifiesto, que en justificación de su conducta militar y política desde el principio de la revolución de España hasta el 25 de julio de este año, publica Don José Álvarez de Toledo, teniente navio de la R. Armada, y representante por la isla de Santo Domingo en las Cortes generales y extraordinarias de la nación española reunidas en Cadiz. [Colophon]: Philadelphia, 10 de diciembre de 1811.

39.

LETAMENDI, A[GUSTÍN] DE (1793-?). Mi opinión sobre la educación de las mugeres. [Four lines from] *Nanine*, Act. I. [Dedication to] Mrs Anderson, por su amigo A. de Letamendi, St. Augustine, Feb. 23, 1824. Charleston: Impresa por C. C. Sebring. 1825.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, 2-4⁴. 30, [1] pp. 220 x 132 mm.

ScCC

40.

TREADWAY, M. R. H., *trans.* [Royal conversations of Frederick, second king of Prussia with his nephew and heir apparent. Translated from the French. [Copyrighted] Charleston, 1825.]

No copy located.

Z

41.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). Notas históricas sobre la revolución de España, comprendiendo la época de 1814 hasta 1823. Por el Sr. Don Agustín de Letamendi, cónsul de la nación española en la Florida Oriental. Charleston, Ellis y Neufville, Ympresores. 1826.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, 2-11⁴, 12². 92 pp. 218 x 140 mm.

ScCC

Advertised in the *Charleston Courier* of Sept. 19, 1826, as follows: "The Historical Notes are now in the press of Messrs. Ellis y Neufville, . . . printed in both languages. We invite Sr. de Letamendi to add to his notes his numbers on 'Commerce' and on 'Education' " and on Dec. 11, 1826 [ibid.]: " 'Historical Notés on

the Spanish Revolution,' the Spanish part, just published, and for sale at Mr Berrett's Book Store at 75 cents . . . , the author has augmented his book with an essay on Epic Poetry . . . , rendered into verse from an English translation in Prose, by William G. Simms, from which we give the following specimen. . . ."

42.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). [Historical notes on the Spanish revolution, comprehending the epoch from 1814 to 1823. [Copyrighted] Charleston, 1826.]

No copy located. An initial installment appeared in the *Charleston Courier* on August 5, 1825, and a second on August 6. On the second date there is also the following insertion: "Mr. Letamendi respectfully informs the public that he has concluded to publish his 'Historical Notes on the Spanish Revolution' in the form of a volume, instead of through the medium of a newspaper. The volume will consist of about 150 pages, embracing a period of Spanish history from the year 1814-1823, and will be delivered to subscribers at \$1 each." The author then reverted to his original plan of publication and this English version of the work ran serially in the *Courier*. It was published in thirteen installments which began sometime in January and ended with the issue of February 22, 1826. In the light of this publication it is unlikely that the work was subsequently issued in book form.

43.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). Spanish grammar. Dedicated to the youth of North America by A. de Letamendi, late consul of Spain for East Florida. [Three lines from] Fiorilli. Charleston, S. C. Printed and published by Wm. Riley, 125 Church-Street, 1826.

Nar. 12mo. []⁶, 2-15⁶, 16², 17⁴, 17[18]-21⁶, 22². xii, 13-255 pp. 177 x 104 mm. ScU

This item is listed erroneously by Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano* [vol. IV] as Spanish Grammar, Charleston, Villiam (*sic*) 1826.

44.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). [Miscellaneous writings. Charleston(?), 1827(?).]

No copy located. Proposals for publication are found in the *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 11, 1827, as follows: "This work will embrace the History of the Last Revolution of Spain — An Opinion on Female Education — Observations on the Study of Languages — On the Origin and Progress of Commerce — On Spanish Literature — An Essay on Legislation, &c. — A Ballad on the Death of the Spanish General Riego; and a few other specimens of Spanish Versification — And some other pieces on interesting subjects. Price \$2."

45.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). [On rhetoric. Charleston(?), 1827(?).]

No copy located. Proposals for publication are found in the *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 11, 1827, as follows: "Mr. de Letamendi is now engaged in writing a new Work, *On Rhetoric*, divided into lessons, for the improvement of those who have devoted some time to acquire the Spanish language. A work of this kind is entirely new and should it answer our expectations, as we may anticipate by the good success of his well recommended Spanish grammar, the public will receive a great benefit in the polite and useful branch of the education of vulgar language. Subscriptions received at Mr Berrett's Bookstore, Broad-street, and at this office."

46.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). [Improved cacology or a new syntactical method to learn modern languages with facility, correctness and propriety, after the system of Mr. Munier, a member of the Society of Belles Lettres, Sciences and Arts, at Metz, and other celebrated instructors in Europe, by A. de Letamendi, Professor of Modern Languages in S[outh] C[arolina] Society College, 1828.]

No copy located. Proposals for publication are found in the *Charleston Courier* for March 22, 1828, as follows: "This work will consist of 4 volumes, in 8vo. of about 300 pages each. The first applied to the French language, the second to the Spanish, the third to the Italian, and the fourth to the English, for the use of foreigners, who may wish to become acquainted with our national idiom . . . the subscription list is to be found at W. H. Berrett's Book Store, and at this office. Price \$1 a volume. The utility of a work of this kind is too well known to need any comment. To consider only the improved state of society in this age of learning, is enough to encourage Senor de L's proposed work."

47.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). [Improved tacology [*sic*] or a new method to learn the French language with facility, correctness and propriety after the system of several celebrated instructors in Europe. [Copyrighted] Charleston, 1829.]

No copy located. Cf. no. 46 *supra*.

Z

48.

LETAMENDI, AGUSTÍN DE (1793-?). An introduction to the French language with classical, analytical and synthetical elucidations. By A. de Letamendi. An honorary member of the Clarisophic Society of South

Carolina and professor of French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Provençal languages and literature in the Richland Polytechnical School. [copyrighted] Charleston, 1830. Columbia: Printed for the author by S. J. M'Morris. For sale by E. W. and A. S. Johnson, Columbia and Wm. H. Berrett, Charleston, 1830.

8vo in 4s. []², []⁴, 2-16⁴, 17². vi, 130 pp. 223 x 134 mm.

ScU

49.

FRANCE. REPUBLIC. Fête civique célébrée à Charleston, S. C. en commémoration de la glorieuse révolution française de 1830. Charleston: A. E. Miller, Imprimeur, no. 4 Broad-Street. 1830.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, 2⁴, 3¹. iv, 14 pp. 219 x 133 mm.

ScCC

50.

GOUPIL, JEAN MARTIN AUGUSTE (1800-1837). An exposition of the principles of the new medical doctrine with an analysis of the theses sustained in its different parts. Translated from the French . . . by Josiah C. Nott, M.D. To which is appended a short essay on leeches, by the translator. [Copyrighted] Charleston, 1831. Printed at Columbia, S.C. *Times* and *Gazette* office. 1831.

8vo. xix, 371 pp.

DLC

51.

MENARD, PIERRE. Mélanges philosophiques et littéraires. Charleston. 4 vols., 1831-1834.

12mo. 154 x 102 mm.

NjP, NNFM

Vol. I. Mélanges philosophiques et littéraires. Dediés a la Loge, La Candeur. Charleston: Printed at the office of *The Irishman*. 1831.

[]⁶, []⁶, []⁴. 31 pp.

Vol. II. Title-page, pagination and collation *idem*.

Vol. III. Title-page varies in: no dedication to Loge, La Candeur and in: printed by William S. Blain, 26 State-Street and in the date, which is: 1832.

[]⁶, 2⁶, []⁶, []⁴. 55 pp.

Vol. IV. Title-page varies in: Mélanges littéraires and in: no dedication

to Loge, La Candeur and in: printed by J. S. Burges, 183 King Street and in the date, which is: 1834.

[]², 1⁴, 2-5⁸. 60 pp.

These volumes are also in the collection of Mr. A. S. Salley of Columbia, S. C.

52.

D'AUBIGNÉ, JEAN HENRI MARLE (1794-1872). Discourse on the study of the history of Christianity, and its usefulness at this epoch. Delivered at Geneva, Jan. 2, 1832, by Merle d'Aubigné, minister of the Holy Gospel in the Reformed Church and late pastor of the consistory of the Protestant Church at Brussels. [Two lines from] Acts. Translated from the French, by Thos. S. Grimke. Charleston: Observer Office Press. 1833.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, 2-3⁴. 22, [2] pp. 211 x 132 mm.

ScCC, ScU

53.

BEGIN, L. J. (1793-1859). Application of the physiological doctrine to surgery. . . . Translated from the French by Wm. Sims Reynolds M.D. Charleston: Printed by E. J. Van Brunt, 1835.

8vo in 4s. []⁴, 2-28⁴, 30 [29]⁴. xxvi, [27]-227 pp. 234 x 145 mm.

DLC, ScCMC, ScU

54.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH. The liturgy of the French Protestant Church. Translated from the editions of 1737 and 1772, published at Neuchatel, with additional prayers, carefully selected, and some alterations: arranged for the use of the congregation in the city of Charleston, S. C. Charleston: Printed by James S. Burges, 1836.

8vo in 4s. []², 2-3⁴, []², [2]-17⁴. xxiv, 128 pp. 210 x 125 mm. *ICN, MH*

55.

AMUSSAT, JEAN ZULÉMA (1796-1856). Dr Amussat's lessons on retention of urine caused by strictures of the canal of the urethra, and on the diseases of the prostate. Translated from the French by James P. Jervey. [Charleston, J. Dowling, 1836.]

12mo. []⁸, 2-20⁶, 21⁴. iv, [5]-246, iv pp. 175 x 120 mm.

CS&L

56.

[] The book of conversation; a guide for the tongue. Under the following important and useful heads: conversation, babbler, silent man,

witty man, droll, jester etc. Translated from the French. Charleston: Printed and published by S. Babcock & Co. 1837.

12mo. []⁶, 2-21⁶. xviii, [19]-251 pp. 146 x 98 mm.

A copy of this rare item is in the possession of Mr. A. S. Salley.

57.

VIREY, JULIEN JOSEPH (1775-1846). Natural history of the negro race. Extracted from the French by J. H. Guenebault . . . member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Charleston. Charleston, S. C.: D. J. Dowling, 121 Bay. 1837.

12mo. []², 1-13⁶, 14², 13 [15]⁴, 15 [16]⁴. xvi, 162 pp. 177 x 117 mm.

DLC, MB, MdB, MHi, NcU, ScC, TxU

58.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH. The liturgy of the French Protestant Church. . . . New York: Charles M. Cornwell, Steam Printer, no. 247 Pearl Street. 1869.

8vo, in 4s. []⁴, 2-21⁴. xxiv, 144 pp. 222 x 137 mm.

ScCHS

"Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1838, by the French Protestant Church of the city of Charleston, in the clerk's office of the district of South Carolina."

A reprint of the 1836 edition. Cf. item 54 *supra*.

59.

SMITH, WILLIAM WRAGG, *trans.* The last canto of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, translated and amplified from the French of Alphonse de Lamartine. In Poems by William Wragg Smith. Volume first. Containing The Last Canto etc. and other minor poems. Charleston: Printed by B. B. Hussey, 48 Broad Street. 1842.

12mo. []³, 1³, 2-10⁶. xii, 13-120 pp. 184 x 111 mm.

ScC

60.

THE INTERPRETER. Vol. I. Nos. 1-12 (Semi-monthly, Jan. 15-June 29, 1844). An Aid to the Study of Modern Languages. Containing Extracts From French, Spanish, Italian and German Writers, With word for word translations. Edited by B. Jenkins. Charleston, S. C.: Published by John W. Stoy: S. Hart, Senr.: S. Babcock, and Co.: J. M. Greer. 1844.

THE INTERPRETER. Vol. II. Nos. 1-5 (?) (Monthly(?), Aug. 31(?)-Dec. 31(?), 1844). An Aid to the Study of Modern Languages. Gala-

tea: A Pastoral, Imitated from Cervantes, and Concluded by M. Florian. The Italian, by an Admirer of the Genius of Cervantes; the French, by M. Florian; the Spanish, by Don Casiano Pellicer; the English, by B. Jenkins. Charleston, S. C.: Published by B. Jenkins: John W. Stoy: S. Hart, Senr.: S. Babcock, and Co. 1844.

8vo. 230 x 153 mm.

MWA

Vol. I: 12 issues of 16 pp., each, numbered consecutively from p. 1 through p. 192.

Vol. II: paged consecutively from p. 1 through p. 191 as follows: book I, pp. 1-32; II, pp. 32-76; III, 76-112; IV, 112-143 (end of *Galatea*); pp. 144-191, questions and answers.

There can not be determined with certainty either the dates of issue of the various numbers of Vol. II or the exact circumstances attending the publication's change from semi-monthly to monthly form. Hoole (op. cit., p. 48) lists both volumes as semi-monthly and the span of publication as Jan. 15(?)—Aug. 1, 1844(?). As evidenced by the *MWA* holding, the two volumes were bound together as one book and at this time Jenkins had printed on the verso of the title-page of Vol. I, preceding the issue of Jan. 15, 1844, Vol. I, No. 1, the following: "The Interpreter, is now published monthly, and the whole of the back numbers can be had, at \$3 per annum, on addressing, post paid, B. Jenkins, 100 Hayne-Street, Charleston, S. C." Since the last issue of Vol. I is unquestionably a semi-monthly, the change doubtless occurred immediately after that although all of Vol. II is paged consecutively and there is no way of telling how the monthly divisions were made. Originally dated covers may have preceded these divisions but these are wanting in the *MWA* copy.

The *Charleston Courier* for Aug. 31, 1844, states that "No. I of the second volume . . . has just been received and is for sale." If the issues appeared thereafter by the month and corresponded to the divisions into books and questions, we may posit Dec. 31 as the date of the last number of Vol. II. Certainly Hoole's *terminus ad quem* (Aug. 1, 1844) is unsupported as is also his designation of semi-monthly for both volumes of the publication.

That the public's reception of the work did not continue to justify the semi-monthly form is indicated by the following note which appears on the last page of Vol. II: "The expenses of printing this work, having exceeded the amount received for it, by several hundred dollars, it will be suspended until the edition printed be sold, when, should there be a larger demand for such a publication, it may be resumed. . . ."

61.

THE POLYGLOT. A monthly journal devoted to modern languages. Vol. I. Nos. 1-6 (March-August). Edited by Louis F. Klipstein, A. M. Charleston, S. C. Printed by Walker and Burke. 1844.

4to. 290 x 240 mm.

ScC

Vol. I: 6 issues of 24 pp. each (except No. 5 which has 15 pp. and No. 6 which has 12) numbered consecutively from p. [1] through p. 124.

This work contains selections in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. The material is presented at times three columns to the page, at others two. It includes both poetry and prose. The texts are accompanied by no notes nor other explanatory material.

62.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH. Preamble and rules for the government of the French Protestant Church of Charleston: adopted at meeting of the corporation held on the 12th and 19th November, 1843. Charleston: Burges and James, printers. 1845.

Format uncertain. []⁸, 2⁸, 3². 26 pp. 227 x 148 mm. *ScCHS*

Contains: Confession de Foi, fait d'un commun accord par les eglises reformées du royaume de France.

Second title: Confession of Faith, made by common consent of the reformed churches of the kingdom of France.

This portion of the work, which runs from page [13] to page 26 has French and English in parallel columns.

63.

SOULIE, FRÉDÉRIC (1800-1847). Ernest Clemenceau: or British philanthropy illustrated. A tale of Guadeloupe in 1838. Translated from the French of Frédéric Soulie, by a lady of Charleston, S. C. Charleston: Burges and James, printers. 1847.

12mo. []², 1⁴, 2-21⁶, 22². 256 pp. 194 x 110 mm. *ScC*

64.

BASTIAT, CLAUDE FRÉDÉRIC (1801-1850). Sophisms of the protective policy. By Fr. Bastiat, corresponding member of the National Institute of France etc. Translated from the second French edition by Mrs J. D. McCord of South Carolina with an introductory letter by Dr. Francis Lieber, New York: Geo. P. Putnam, of the late firm of Wiley and Putnam, 155 Broadway. Charleston, S. C.: John Russell, MDCCCXLVIII.

12mo. []⁸, 2-8¹², 9⁴. 14, 172, 6 pp. 188 x 128 mm. *ScU*

65.

LAMÉ FLEURY, JULES RAYMOND (1797-1878). Mythology related to children. Translated from the French of M. Lamé Fleury, author of

several elementary works. With questions for examination by the translator. Charleston: John Russell, 256 King Street. 1853.

12mo. []⁶, 2-8¹², 9⁶. xii, 13-192 pp. 187 x 112 mm.

DLC, ScCH

66.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH. The liturgy or forms of divine service, of the French Protestant Church, of Charleston, S. C. Translated from the liturgy of the churches of Neufchatel and Vallangin: editions of 1737 and 1772. With some additional prayers, carefully selected. The whole adapted to public worship in the United States of America. Second edition: revised and enlarged. Charleston: Steam power press of Walker and James. 1853.

12mo. []¹², 1-9¹², 10⁶. xxiv, [1]-226 pp. 175 x 120 mm.

ScHS

67.

Du Bos, LOUIS. Discours sur la mère de Washington, délivré dans la chapelle du College de Charleston, par le professeur L. du Bos, le jour de la naissance de Washington. Charleston, S. C.: Impr. du journal *News and Courier*. 1874.

8vo in 28⁷ [1]-5². 19 pp. 225 x 148 mm.

CSmH

68.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH. The liturgy, or forms of divine worship of the French Protestant Church of Charleston, S. C. . . . Fourth edition. Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, printers and binders. 1886.

12mo. []¹, []¹², []¹², 2-9¹², 10⁶, []¹. xxiv, 230 pp. 197 x 125 mm.

ICN

L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE D'HAYTI (1817-1819). A LITTLE KNOWN ROYAL PRESS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

By RALPH T. ESTERQUEST

ONE of the wonders of the new world is the monument erected by Henri Christophe, that extraordinary and powerful leader of the negro race whom we know as Henri I, King of Haiti, the first and only sovereign in what its founder intended should become a puissant dynasty. That monument is the Citadel de la Ferrière, visited every year by thousands of American tourists whose ships call at Cape Haitien. It stands as a reminder of Christophe's own might and will as absolute monarch of a half-million black souls, and speaks loudly of the man power he could muster a century and a quarter ago in the jungles of northern Haiti.

The citadel on the Haitian mountain top was a symbol of Christophe's military power, affirming the achievements of a black army that alone in the world was able to boast continuous victories against the forces of Napoleon, then riding rough-shod over the countries of Europe. Less known than the military might of the Haitian king were his civilian aspirations, remembered today by the ruins of several of his palaces, built in a reign-long endeavor to prove to the world that a negro king could also appreciate the finer things in life and enjoy the same grandeur as the white kings of Europe.

Much of Christophe's royal treasure was poured into this endeavor, and his chief palace at Sans Souci, about fifteen miles inland from Cape Haitien, only one of eight grand palaces and fif-

teen chateaux, was a not entirely unsuccessful attempt to outshine the famous Sans Souci of Frederick the Great. The architects directed a mountain stream beneath its mirrored halls to provide a nineteenth-century cooling system. The stream thence emerged from the top of a great marble arch, dropped twenty feet over a bright blue wall, and cascaded away down a water-course that was painted a rich Pompeian red.

The rooms of the palace were paved with marble and paneled with polished hardwood, and the great audience hall was a hall of mirrors. Murals and oriental tapestries of surprisingly good taste adorned a library, whose books had been brought over from Europe, the collection of some unknown Frenchman. Rescued from oblivion is the name of the royal librarian — one M. Tous-saint Gabriel, *Bibliothécaire du Roi* — whose memory is preserved in Christophe's *Royal Almanac*.

On the palace grounds, beyond the formal gardens, were an arsenal, a royal chapel, a presbytery, the royal stables, a carriage repair shop, offices, and the well-equipped *Imprimerie Royale d'Hayti*.

The few Europeans who visited Sans Souci during its glory agree that in the scale of grandeur which surrounded it and in its rigorous adherence to social forms, Christophe's court was exceeded perhaps only by that of Versailles. For the court of royal Haiti had all the glitter that might be expected in a new-born state where it was the royal ambition to outshine the emperor Napoleon. At his coronation, King Henry had in attendance four princes of the blood, eight dukes, eighteen counts, thirty-two barons, and forty chevaliers. These formed the "hereditary nobility of Haiti, a black aristocracy just one month old, created by royal order."¹ In addition there was the Royal and Military

¹ J. W. Vandercook, *Black Majesty*, New York, 1928, p. 123. For most of the facts regarding the Haitian court, the writer is indebted to the contemporary account of Charles Mackenzie, whose *Notes on Hayti*, London, 1830, in two volumes, describes this English diplomat's two-year stay on the island of Santo Domingo. Another important source of historical information that should be mentioned is Vergniaud Leconte's *Henri Christophe dans l'histoire d'Hayti*, Paris, 1931.

Order of Saint Henry, which conferred personal nobility on those who were decorated with it. In 1817 it consisted of six Grands Croix, sixteen Knights-Commanders, and one hundred and six Knights-Companions.

To American tourists and to the readers of popular travel books, the Citadel de la Ferrière and the royal palace at Sans Souci are well known as permanent monuments to Christophe's brief reign. Almost unknown are a few scattered monuments of quite another sort, also left behind by the black monarch of the western world. These monuments are to be found today on the shelves of a handful of libraries here and there about the world. Almost none exist now on the island of Haiti where first they came from the press one hundred and twenty years ago.

Though he could neither read nor write and spent a substantial share of his reign learning to form with some legibility the "Henri, Roi" which he attached to papers of state, Henri Christophe had literary aspirations. Not personal aspirations for himself, to be sure, but literary aspirations for his kingdom. He dreamed of a Haitian literature and a Haitian culture with its roots in its own tropical soil. He spurned the Haiti that looked to Paris for its cultural inspiration, and took measures to insure an indigenous literate civilization. Royal patronage of the almost non-existent arts was part of this plan; the establishment of a royal press was another.

But with Christophe's own reign as short as it was, it is no wonder that most of his more idealistic plans died in an incipient stage. The productions of the Royal Press never got beyond the national propaganda stage, and yet, at least one royal author gave promise of literary ability, and it was the Royal Press that gave his writings to the world of books.

Before the actual *Imprimerie Royale* was established at Sans Souci in 1817, the royal government, between 1811 and 1816, published a number of works at the original capital city of Cape Haitien, then known as Le Cap, or officially as Cap Henry. There

were at least twenty titles in all that bore the imprint of Monsieur P. Roux, *Imprimerie du Roi*, at Cap Henry. Besides royal decrees and broadsides of an official nature, the output of the press included a number of treatises, a complete list of which is appended to the present article. Among the authors, Julien Prévost, comte de Limonade, vied for a while with the Baron de Vastey as royal minister of propaganda — unofficial. The Count of Limonade, whose name causes us to smile, though his title is derived seriously from an important province of northern Haiti and is comparable to Europe's princes of Orange, was a man of considerable importance in Christophe's court, holding the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Secretary of State. In addition, the count was a ranking member of the king's privy council and major-commandant of the glittering light-cavalry regiment of the Prince-Royal. Prévost is described as an elderly and highly educated mulatto, and perhaps for this reason his writing lacks the fire that is to be found in the works of the self-educated Baron de Vastey, who was Christophe's most voluminous author. Prévost's writings were devoted to descriptive accounts of the Haitian court and to an exposé of one of the several attempts of France to regain influence and to acquire a new foothold in her lost colony.

When Christophe moved the capital to the new palace at Sans Souci in January, 1817, the Royal Press was established there under direct control of the court. A Monsieur Buon, who, like so many other important ex-slave members of the royal household, possessed only a surname, was appointed to the post of *Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale*. As to what became of the former royal printer, P. Roux, history does not provide us with a clue.

The first official publication of the new press was the 1817 issue of the *Almanach Royal*, which had appeared annually at Cap Henry since 1813. The title-page reads:

Almanach | Royal d'Hayti, | Pour l'Année 1818, | Quinzième de
l'Indépendance, et la Septième | du règne de Sa Majesté, | Présenté au
Roi, | Par Buon. | [coat of arms] | A Sans-Souci, | De l'Imprimerie
Royale.

ALMANACH
ROYAL D'HAYTI,

Pour l'Année 1818,
Quinzième de l'Indépendance, et la Septième
du règne de SA MAJESTÉ,

PRÉSENTÉ AU ROI,

PAR BUON.



A SANS-SOUCI,
DE L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE.

Neither this issue, which appeared in 1817, nor any of the other five numbers of the *Almanach* appeared in large editions, if their scarcity today is any indication. During the last three years the writer has made periodic searches for copies of the work, but has never found the existence of more than about fifteen copies of the six issues in libraries in the United States and those of Europe for which we have catalogues in this country. Doubtless there are a number of other copies, probably in private hands. As far as Haiti itself is concerned, the *Almanach* apparently helped to feed the flames of republican revolution, for the work is even more scarce there. The writer visited bookshops and libraries in Port-au-Prince and eight coastal cities of Haiti recently without casting eyes on a single copy. The Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haiti, in Port-au-Prince, moreover, asserts that not only are copies of the *Almanach* very rare in Haiti, but "au surplus, aucune bibliothèque publique ne possède la collection entière des oeuvres éditées par la dite imprimerie."² A leading bookstore of Port-au-Prince, the capital city of Haiti, describes the *Almanach* and other works published at Sans Souci as "introuvables."³ None of the titles appear in the book auction records of America, Great Britain, France, or Germany, except for the record of three consecutive sales of what appears to be a single copy of the 1815 *Almanach*, sold at auction in London, first on April 14, 1910, again on May 8, 1911, and a third time on November 4, 1915.⁴

Richard A. Loederer, in his book of questionable accuracy, *Voodoo Fire in Haiti*, describes a visit to a Catholic seminary at Jeremie, on Haiti's southern peninsula, where a small and neglected library held two works with the Sans Souci imprint.⁵ One was the 1818 issue of the *Almanach* and the other the Baron

² MS. letter, dated 28 July 1937, to the writer from M. le dr. Price-Mars, president of the Société.

³ MS. letter to the writer, 5 October 1938.

⁴ *Book auction records*, vol. 7, 1909-10, p. 316; vol. 8, 1910-11, p. 348; vol. 13, 1915-16, p. 4.

⁵ *Voodoo fire in Haiti*, Garden City, New York, 1935, p. 173.

de Vastey's *Reflexions Politiques*. Without a doubt Loederer did see these two books at Jeremie, but it would be the present writer's wish that the record of their existence were made between the covers of a book of greater reliability.

The *Almanach Royal d'Hayti* is the Burke's *Peerage* for Christophe's grandiose kingdom. And it is more than that, for, down to the least of them, every member of the king's household, bureaucracy, and military staff is included, along with his title, honors, and rank. Along with the heraldic pretences, we see reflected in its pages the cultural aspirations of the new-born kingdom. Chapter XIII, entitled "Chambre Royale d'Instruction Publique. Le Roi, Protecteur," declares that a royal college of higher learning is created, which means that the king's physician, English Doctor Stewart, is appointed to give occasional lectures in anatomy and surgery. It also declares that national schools are established in the principal cities of the realm, the teaching to follow "la methode de Lancaster."⁶ Section II of the same chapter records the existence of the Academie Royale de Musique, and the names of the five court musicians who compose it are listed. The name of M. Revinchal, *peintre du Roi*, is next rescued from oblivion.

Chapter XIV, Beaux Arts, describes the functions of the *Imprimerie Royale* as "Service de la Secrétairerie d'État, et des autres ministères, de la Chancellerie du Roi, du Grand-Conseil, du Conseil Privé du Roi, et impressions des ouvrages publics aux frais du gouvernement. M. Buon, Directeur. M. Guerdin, Prote."⁷

The final pages of the *Almanach* provide a glimpse into the

⁶ In the Harvard College Library copy of the 1818 *Almanach*, the words "de Lancaster" are corrected in manuscript to read "anglais." The Lancaster "method," a kind of monitorial system of pedagogy that had enjoyed a recent vogue in England under the somewhat fanatical leadership of Joseph Lancaster, was enthusiastically received by the Haitian crown, probably because of the economy in teaching staff to be had in Lancaster's "monitor" schools. Christophe imported a number of Lancaster disciples, and a number of primary schools were actually opened under their direction.

⁷ *Almanach royal . . . pour 1818*, p. 131.

formality of Haitian court life, for there are the rules of behavior, printed in good simple French for the neophyte counts and barons to read. Here, translated in full, are the regulations governing *Les Jours des Cercles à la Cour* from the *Almanach* for 1818.

The court Levees are fixed always for Thursday of every week, at five o'clock sharp in the afternoon.

The nobles comprising the court of Their Majesties, who are not detained by duties or other legitimate or valid hindrances, proceed with their wives to the palace, in full military uniform, or in dress appropriate to their position in the state. The nobles keep their swords with them, as their most fitting adornment.

The footstool is the prescribed place for Princes and Princesses, Dukes and Duchesses.

The folding chair for Counts and Countesses, Barons and Baronesses, Chevaliers and Chevalières.

Each of these persons is seated by the Grand Master and the Masters of Ceremonies, according to precedence.

At the Levee, one must never address a word to the King nor to the Queen, without having obtained permission through the mediary of the Grand Master of Ceremonies for the King, and that of the Lady in Waiting in the case of the Queen.⁸

In the same year that saw the appearance of the *Almanach*, the Royal Press issued a political essay by the Baron de Vastey, whose position in the court was doubtless due to his pen. There were few persons around Christophe who were literate to the extent of being able to write their names, and the presence of a man with some literary capacity perforce placed Vastey in a position of importance; long since his loyalty to the crown had placed him in a position of trust. Technically, Vastey was one of the king's secretaries, but in his sincere love for Christophe he had earned his place as the king's closest confidant and adviser. The English traders who visited the court have described this Pompée-Valentin de Vastey as a small man, slender, who wore his reddish-brown hair clipped short. The illegitimate son of a white father and a mulatto mother, he could almost pass as a white man, but his complexion

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134-135.

certainly did not cause him to despise his all-black countrymen as was the case of the great majority of Haiti's "men of color." His writings show an intensity of love for the blacks and a fierce hatred of all whites. According to the 1818 *Almanach*, Vastey was a member of the king's Privy Council and tutor to the Prince-Royal, heir to the throne of Haiti. In the Royal and Military Order of Saint Henry, he was a Chevalier.

The first of the Baron de Vastey's works to be issued by the new Royal Press was his *Réflexions politiques sur quelques ouvrages et journaux français concernant Hayti* . . . Written in a highly literary French, the essay is good reading even today. With eighteenth-century elegance, the author disputes a volume written by a former French colonial administrator of Haiti, M. le Borgne de Boigne,⁹ who argued that Haiti could never hope to prosper except as a colonial dependency of the French Empire. The reply of the Baron de Vastey is a brilliant refutation, subdued in style, impressive by sheer weight of its logic. In England the work was considered as having importance and merit, for a translation appeared as one number of the London *Pamphleteer* in 1818.¹⁰ Rebelling against the unjustly critical and scoffing attitude of most of Europe toward the Haitian experiment, the author makes this closing plea: "If men feel interested in the happiness of men," he says, "and if it be the province of philanthropy to subdue the forces of passion and prejudice; ought not the world, instead of repressing our exertions, instead of interposing to prevent the increase and improvement of our social condition; ought it not to lend assistance? What do we ask, that cannot be granted? Liberty, independence, and peace!"¹¹

⁹ *Nouveau système de colonisation pour Saint-Domingue, combiné avec la création d'une compagnie de commerce pour rétablir les relations de la France avec cette île* . . . par l'ordonnateur des guerres Leborgne de Boigne, Paris, Dondéy-Dupré, 1817, viii, 304 p., 8vo.

¹⁰ *Political remarks on some French works and newspapers, concerning Hayti*. By the Baron de Vastey . . . , London, 1818. (*The Pamphleteer* . . . vol. 13, pp. 165-239. 1819.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

In the year following the publication of Vastey's work, the Royal Press issued its third title, *L'entrée du Roi en sa capitale, en janvier* 1818. *Opera vaudeville*, par M. le Comte de Rosiers. A Sans-Souci, 1818. A book of much less importance historically than the essay by Vastey, this work should be an illuminating document for the philologist, for much of the text is written in the Haitian *patois*, the corrupt and almost incomprehensible French mixture that is spoken by the masses of the Haitian population. The work is a play by the Comte de Rosiers, and much of its comedy is based on the effect of setting in contrast dialogue in excellent French with speeches in the peasants' vernacular, speeches which seem to require tremendous and extravagant gestures in order to convey any meaning at all. Of the author, Rosiers, very little is known except that he was a member of the king's household.

Early in 1819 the Haitian nobles received the new number of the now impressive 147-page *Almanach Royal*, published as the issue for the year 1820, which was the year that was to see the complete collapse of Christophe's kingdom, the suicide of the king himself, and the beginning of a long period of political chaos throughout the prosperous realm.

In addition to the *Almanach*, 1819 also saw the publication of two other works by the Royal Press, representing the last expressions of young Haiti's attempted cultural expansion. One was the Baron de Vastey's *Essai sur les causes de la révolution et des guerres civiles d'Hayti* . . . A Sans-Souci, 1819. As an appendix, this work carried a reprint of the author's *Réflexions politiques* of 1817.

The second work was by the Comte de Rosiers, and it bears this rather extravagant title: *Hayti reconnaissante; en réponse à un écrit . . . intitulé: l'Europe châtiée et l'Afrique vengée*. A Sans-Souci, 1819.

Beyond what has already been said, nothing more is known of the Royal Press itself. Most of what we do know is revealed in the pages of its *Almanach Royal*, and that information is slight indeed. A product of the brief monarchy, the press possessed its

share of the sham elegance of the court, and it died along with Henri Christophe — its brief candle extinguished forever in the ensuing tidal wave of confusion and turmoil that was to spread over Haiti for the decades to come.

COMPLETE LIST OF THE TITLES PUBLISHED AT
L'IMPRIMERIE ROYALE D'HAYTI

(Notes regarding location of copies are as complete as possible
but represent a search that was far from exhaustive.)

1817

Almanach royal d'Hayti, pour l'année 1818, quinzisième de l'indépendance, et la septième du règne de sa majesté, présenté au roi, par Buon. A Sans-Souci, de l'imprimerie royale [1817]

[22], 135, [4] pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Athenaeum, British Museum, Harvard College Library, New York Public Library.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. *Réflexions politiques sur quelques ouvrages et journaux français, concernant Hayti.* Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, secrétaire du roi, Chevalier de l'Ordre royal et militaire de Saint Henry, précepteur de son altesse royale Monseigneur le Prince Royale d'Hayti, &c. À Sans-Souci, de l'imprimerie royale. Année, 1817, 14ème de l'indépendance.

[8], xxiv, xxvii-xxx, 206, [1] pp. 8vo. p. xxx incorrectly numbered xx.

Copies: Boston Public Library, British Museum, John Carter Brown Library, New York Public Library, Princeton University Library. (Note: The John Carter Brown Library copy bears this inscription: "To the Rev.^d Fra.^s Wrangham with the friendly Regards of W. Wilberforce to whom this volume was sent from Hayti by the Baron de Vastey, immediately on its publication. — Ken.^s Gore Dec.^r 1821." For the history of the strange William Wilberforce-Henry Christophe relationship and correspondence, see R. D. Wilberforce's *Life of William Wilberforce*, London, 1838, vol. 4, p. 356 ff.)

1818

ROSIERS, S. E. M., COMTE DE. *L'entrée du roi en sa capitale, en janvier 1818.* Opera vaudeville, par M. le Comte de Rosiers. A Sans-Souci, de l'imprimerie royale, 1818.

43 pp. 8vo.

Copy: Harvard College Library.

1819

Almanach royal d'Hayti, pour l'année . . . 1820. Par Buon . . . A Sans-Souci, de l'imprimerie royale [1819]

147 pp. 8vo.

Copies: British Museum, New York Public Library.

ROSIIERS, S. E. M., COMTE DE. Hayti reconnaissante: en réponse à un écrit . . . intitulé: l'Europe châtiée et l'Afrique vengée . . . A Sans-Souci, de l'imprimerie royale, 1819.

24 pp. 8vo.

Copies: British Museum, Harvard College Library, New York Public Library.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Essai sur les causes de la révolution et des guerres civiles d'Hayti, faissant suite aux réflexions politiques sur quelques ouvrages et journaux français, concernant Hayti . . . Par Monsieur le Baron de Vastey, chancelier du roi, membre de son conseil privé, maréchal de camp de ses armées, Chevalier de l'Ordre royal et militaire se Saint Henry, etc. A Sans-Souci, de l'imprimerie royale, 1819, an 16ème de l'indépendance.

xxiv, 403, 140 pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Public Library, British Museum, New York Public Library.

PARTIAL LIST OF WORKS PUBLISHED
CHEZ P. ROUX, IMPRIMEUR DU ROI, CAP-HENRY

LIMONADE, JULIEN PRÉVOST, COMTE DE. Royaume d'Hayti. Le comte de Limonade . . . À ses concitoyens des parties de l'ouest et du sud. [Cap-Henry, 1811-]

12 pp. 4to.

Copy: Boston Athenaeum.

1811

HAYTI. Acte de l'indépendance d'Hayti. Au Cap-Henry [1811?]

LIMONADE, JULIEN PRÉVOST, COMTE DE. Rêlation des glorieux événements qui ont porté leurs Majestés royales sur le trône d'Hayti, suivé de l'histoire du couronnement et du sacre du roi Henry Ier et de la reine Marie-Louise. Par Julien Prévost, comte de Limonade . . . Au Cap-Henry, P. Roux, 1811.

8vo.

Copies: Boston Public Library, Massachusetts Historical Society.

1812

HAÏTI (KINGDOM). Code Henry. Loi de commerce. Loi penale. Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi, 1812.

754 pp. 8vo.

1813

Almanach royal d'Hayti, pour l'année 1814, onzième de l'indépendance, et la troisième du règne de sa majesté. Présenté au roi, par P. Roux. Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur de sa majesté [1813]

[16], 131 pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Athenaeum, New York Historical Society.

1814

Almanach royal d'Hayti, pour l'année 1815, douzième de l'indépendance et la quatrième du règne de sa majesté, par P. Roux. Au Cap-Henry [1814]

[8], 80 pp. 8vo.

Copy: Boston Athenaeum.

HAÏTI (KINGDOM). Royaume d'Hayti. — Manifeste du Roi (Henry Christophe). Sans Souci, le 18 Sept. 1814. Cap Henry [1814]

44 pp. 8vo.

Copy: British Museum.

HAÏTI (KINGDOM). Plan générale de défense du royaume. Cap Henry, 1814.

8 pp. 8vo.

HAÏTI (KINGDOM). Copies de pièces des agens du gouvernement français . . . Cap Henry, 1814.

14 pp. 8vo.

Copy: Library of Congress.

HAÏTI (KINGDOM). Conseil général. . . . Procès verbal des séances du Conseil général de la nation . . . [Cap Henry, P. Roux, 1814]

20 pp. 28 x 22 cm.

Copy: New York Public Library.

LIMONADE, JULIEN PRÉVOST, COMTE DE. Le machiavelisme du cabinet français. Par le comte de Limonade . . . [Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, 1814]

35, [1] pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Public Library; Library of Congress.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Notes à M. le baron de V. P. Malouet, ministre de la marine et des colonies, de sa majesté Louis XVIII, et ancien administrateur des colonies et de la marine, ex-colon de Saint-Domingue, etc. en reputation du 4ème volume de son ouvrage, intitulé: "Collection de memoires sur les colonies, et particulièrement sur Saint Domingue," etc. Publiée en l'an X, par M. le baron J. L. Vastey . . . Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur de Roi, Octobre 1814, l'an 11ème.

24 pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Public Library, British Museum, Massachusetts Historical Society.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Le système coloniale devoile. Par le baron de Vastey. Le voilà donc connu de secret plain d'horreur: Le système colonial c'est le domination des blancs, c'est le massacre ou l'esclavage des noirs. Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi, Octobre 1814, l'an 11ème.

viii, 96 [1] pp.

Copies: Boston Public Library, British Museum, Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Public Library.

1815

Almanach royal d'Hayti, pour l'année 1816 . . . Par Roux. Au Cap-Henry, [1815]

8vo.

Copies: Boston Athenaeum, British Museum.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. À mes concitoyens, Haytiens! [Colophon:] Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi [1815]

24 pp. Folio.

Copies: Boston Athenaeum, Massachusetts Historical Society.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Le cri de la conscience; ou, Réponse à us écrit, imprimé au Port-au-Prince, intitulé: Le peuple de la République d'Hayti, à Messieurs Vastey et Limonade. Par le baron de Vastey . . . Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi, Juin 1815, l'an douzième de l'indépendance d'Hayti.

107, [1] pp. Folio

Copy: Boston Athenaeum.

VASTEY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Le cri de la patrie, par M. le baron de Vastey . . . [Colophon:] Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi [1815?]

[2], 29 pp. Folio.

Copies: Boston Athenaeum, New York Public Library.

1816

Almanach royal d'Hayti, pour l'année 1817 . . . Par Roux. Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur de sa majesté [1816]

[14], 129, [2] pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Athenaeum, British Museum.

VASTÉY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Relation de la fête de S. M. la reine d'Hayti, des actes du gouvernement qui ont eu lieu durant cet événement, et de tout ce qui s'est passé à l'occasion de cette fête . . . [Colophon:] Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi [1816?]

76 pp. 8vo.

Copy: John Carter Brown Library.

VASTÉY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Réflexions adressées aux Haytiens de partie de l'Ouest et du Sud, sur l'horrible assassinat du Général Delvare, commis au Port-au-Prince, dans la nuit de 25 décembre 1815, par les ordres de Petion . . . [Colophon:] Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi [1816]

24 pp. 8vo.

Copy: John Carter Brown Library.

VASTÉY, POMPÉE-VALENTIN, BARON DE. Réflexions sur une lettre de Mazères, ex-colon français, adressée à M. J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismin-di, sur les noirs et les blancs, la civilisation de l'Afrique, le royaume d'Hayti, etc. . . . Par le baron de Vastéy. Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, imprimeur du Roi, mars 1816, l'an 13ème.

[4], 112 pp. 8vo.

Copies: Boston Public Library, British Museum, Harvard College Library, John Carter Brown Library, New York Public Library, Boston Athenaeum, U. S. Department of State Library. The copy in the John Carter Brown Library bears this inscription: "To the Rev^d Fr^s Wrangham from W Wilberforce — with every friendly wish. This Vol. was sent to me W. from Hayti by the Baron de Vastéy. — Kens "Gore Nov^r 1821." See note to the second Sans Souci title, above.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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Incunabula

REGIMEN SANITATIS. Strassburg: Matthias Hupfuff, [14]99. 4°.

12 ff. Sig: a-b^e.

[*Title:*] Iste est tractatulus medicinalis quē doctores Parisiēn miserūt regi Anglie.

[*Colophon:*] Impressū Argētine per me Mathiā Hipfuf. cx ix ior.

Hain-Copinger 13763. Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica*, no. 832.7. Hellebrant, A., *Catalogus librorum saeculo XV^o impressorum . . .*, Budapest, 1886, no. 323.

Copy in the New York Academy of Medicine Library. The Budapest copy, the only one recorded by Klebs, lacks the first leaf which contains the above title over a woodcut on the recto and two smaller woodcuts on the verso. According to a communication from the librarian, the colophon of the Budapest copy corresponds with the reading given here which varies from that given in the bibliographies.

— GERTRUDE L. ANNAN

English Books, 1475-1800

BIBLE. ENGLISH. The Holy Bible. . . . London: R. Barker, 1618. 8vo.

It is interesting to note that the Lea Wilson-J. H. Dent-John Pearson copy of this book once evidently belonged to the bibliographer, Panzer. (His name was twice misread in sales catalogues). Inscribed in an eighteenth-century hand: "A sacred present received from the most reverend Priest of the Cathedral Church of St. Sebald Mr. Panzer the 14th of Jany in the year 1769." The priest was almost certainly G. W. F. Panzer who on August 29, 1760, became a member of the clergy of the Cathedral Church of St. Sebald, Nuremberg, (*All. Deut. Biog.* XXV, 133).

— EDWIN W. WILLOUGHBY

COCKLE, MAURICE J. D. A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and Contemporary Foreign Works . . . London, 1900.

Additions and Corrections:

No. 3 Frontius. Another collected edition, with Vegetius, Aelian Modestus, Cologne, 1524. Copy in MiU.

Nos. 21 & 34. Polman. Cockle notes that Arber gives author's name as John Polman, but adds, "I do not know on what authority." The author's name appears on the verso of the title-page of No. 21.

No. 79 Gheyn. The bibliography of this work is very complicated. A paper on it has been sent to the editor of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*.

No. 124 C[ruso]. Another edition, 1644. Copy in DLC.

No. 133 Barrieffe. For a list of editions, see *The Colophon, New Series*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 427.

No. 146 Du Praissac. It is sometimes said that there was a second edition, 1642. This comprises the 1639 edition and a new title-page. Copy in DLC.

No. 163 Hexham. This (1642) is the second edition. The first is London, 1639.

No. 164 Hexham. This (1643) is the second edition. The first is Hague, 1640.

No. 507 Macchiavelli. Another edition, Venice, 1537. Copy in MiU.

No. 560 La Noue. Another edition, Basle, 1599. Copy in MiU.

No. 580 Mendoza. Other editions: (Italian) Venice, 1602; (German) Frankfurt, 1617. Copies at MiU.

No. 600 Basta. Another edition (French), Frankfurt, 1617. Copy in MiU.

No. 621 Wallhausen. It is stated that the Leeuward edition, 1630, is in Dutch. There is an edition in French of that place and date. Copy in MiU.

No. 669 Schiavina. Cockle states, "nothing is known of his work." MiU has *Breve essanine intorno l'artegliarie . . . del Sign. Capitano Zaccaria Schiavina. . . In Brescia, Apresso Policreto Turlini, MDLXXXVI.*

No. 702 Du Choul. Another edition (Italian), Lyons, 1569. Copy in MiU.

No. 831 Deville (1640). According to Sotheran's Catalogue No. 850, the first edition is Lyons, 1628, and the second edition is Lyons, 1636. There are also Lyons, 1638, and Paris, 1666, editions. Copies of these last are in MiU.

— COL. THOMAS M. SPAULDING

Americana

An Abstract of the Patent Granted by His Majesty King George to Benj. Okell, the Inventor of a Medicine, call'd, Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops . . . London, printed by J. Cluer . . . and reprinted by John Peter Zenger in New York. 1731. 8vo, pp. 3, (1), 36. 2 unsigned leaves, A-D⁴, E².

Unrecorded. A second title appears on A_{1r} as follows: A Short Treatise of the Virtues of Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops . . . to be sold only by James Wallace, in New York. Reprinted by J. Peter Zenger, in New York. This may be the first medical book printed in New York. Copy in NNN. — GERTRUDE L. ANNAN

An Address to the Inhabitants of the New Settlements in the Northern and Western Parts of the United States . . . *New Haven, T. and S. Green.*

In 1793 T. & S. Green were paid for printing this pamphlet. In 1795 they were paid for printing the same title. The six-page edition was probably printed in 1795. I feel certain that an edition of four pages was probably printed in 1793. Can anyone locate a copy of this edition? *Sabin* 420 & 15646.

— ALBERT C. BATES

AMBROSE, ISAAC (1604-1663) & BATES, WILLIAM (1625-1699). *Christ in the Clouds coming to Judgment; or the Dissolution of all things. . . A Sermon . . .* v.p., v.d.

This English pamphlet was frequently reprinted in America. It is credited on the title-page both to Rev. Dr. Bates and to Isaac Ambrose.

The following editions of this sermon are ascribed to Isaac Ambrose: Boston, [1752]; Boston, 1768; Boston, 1773; and Boston [1786]. Copies of these are to be found in MWA.

The following editions of this sermon are ascribed to Dr. Bates or to William Bates: Boston, 1729 (MB); Boston, 1742 (MHI); Hartford, [1767] (CtHi); [Hartford], 1783; New London, N.D.; Norwich, 1800 (CtHi); and [Greenfield], 1811 (MWA).

The text of all these editions is the same. The solution of the problem is found by consulting the collected works of William Bates and Isaac Ambrose. Rev. William Bates was an English clergyman whose *Works* were published in 1700 a copy of which is to be found in MWA. Nowhere in this volume is to be found, either in abstract or transcript, the wording of *Christ in the Clouds*. But in the works of Rev. Isaac Ambrose, entitled *Prima, Media, and Ultima* (Glasgow edition of 1737 in MWA), is found the wording of *Christ in the Clouds* on pp. 64-89 of *Ultima*. The sermon in question is chiefly an abstract of the larger work, but in the final paragraphs, it follows word for word the text of Ambrose's discourse.

Why this pamphlet was ascribed to Bates in the beginning is unsolved. The only eighteenth-century editions in the B.M. are Cirencester, ca. 1795, and London, ca. 1800. In the Museum Catalogue these are ascribed to Rev. Dr. Bates and no further identification is attempted. Both editions say, "By the Rev. Dr. Bates, lately deceased" but this wording must have come from an early eighteenth-century English edition, now not located. Evidently the sermon appealed more to our fathers in New England, where at least ten editions were printed in the eighteenth century.

— CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

CREE, JOSEPH. *Verses Addressed by Joseph Cree, To the Gentlemen and Ladies, To whom he carries the New-York Gazetteer.* January 1, 1775. [14 lines of verse.] 1 leaf, b.s.

Unrecorded. Copy in Museum at Washington's Headquarters, Newburgh, N. Y.

— OSCAR WEGELIN

[LULLIN DE CHÂTEAUVIEUX, FRÉDÉRIC] 1772-1841. Napoleon's own memoirs printed from a manuscript transmitted from Saint Helena through an unknown channel. Tr. from the French. Pittsburgh, Pub. by Robert Patterson [etc.] Butler and Lambdin, Prs., 1817. 12mo, pp. 176.

This Pittsburgh edition was destroyed by fire before the printing was finished, but at least one set of proof sheets escaped (cf. *Cosmopolitan*, Aug., 1898, vol. 25, p. 443), and also this advance (?) copy, which is in the possession of Prof. F. B. Bowe, New York City.

The French anonymous *Manuscrit venu de Sainte Hélène d'une manière inconnue*, purporting to be an autobiography of Napoleon I, was first published by John Murray, London, April 30, 1817. The work appeared in a number of French editions and in English under different titles. Simultaneously with the French edition there appeared an English translation, also published by Murray, London, 1817. A New York edition, located in the British Museum, Bowe; NN; NNC; and NjP, and having the same text as the Pittsburgh edition, was published by Van Winkle and Wiley in 1817 in 204 pages. Comparison of the Pittsburgh edition with the London edition in NN shows that the text of the former is quite different from that of the latter for the first score of pages, but it gradually approximates the British edition as it advances. Some paragraphs are identical and others have only minor changes. If the American publishers engaged someone to make a new version the translator undoubtedly plagiarized, for the Pittsburgh edition may be called a revised rendition of the British.

From 1817 down to the present, the authorship has been variously ascribed to Napoleon I; B. Constant; E. J. Sieyès; Mme de Staël; H. G. Bertrand; and F. Lullin de Châteaueux. Regarding the Napoleon attribution, a story is told by John Brisben Walker of how a groom of Napoleon's stable at St. Helena (the younger Archambault) was intrusted with the French MS. by the emperor to carry it to Joseph Bonaparte at Bordentown, N. J. Walker says tradition credits the translation to Jean la Guire, a Frenchman living in Pittsburgh at that time and noted for his command of the English language. The article is full of inaccuracies and omissions of facts which make the entire account misleading. (cf. *Cosmopolitan*, Aug., 1898, vol. 25, pp. 240-247.) In 1924 Willard Parker published at New York his version of *The manuscript of Saint Helena*, and in the "Introduction" attributes it to Napoleon, erroneously stating that it is appearing in English for the first time. He gives a more fantastic history of the work than Walker's Archambault story in the *Cosmopolitan*.

As far as Napoleon's authorship is concerned there can be no doubt of the spuriousness of the work. A copy of the Murray edition in French was brought to Napoleon at St. Helena on Sept. 5, 1817, by Montholon, with whom Napoleon discussed the book. He disclaimed the authorship. (cf. G. Gourgaud, *Sainte-Hélène; journal inédit de 1815 à 1818*, Paris, 1899, vol. 2, pp. 290-291.) Forty-four critical notes to the work made by Napoleon were published in *Le manuscrit de Sainte-Hélène, publié pour la première fois avec des notes par Napoléon*, Paris, 1821, edited by General Gourgaud. In 1841 after the death on Sept. 24th of Frédéric Lullin de Châteaueux of Geneva, a copy of the *Manuscrit* was found among his literary remains bearing a declaration of his authorship. Lullin de

Châteauvieux, distinguished as the author of *Lettres d'Italie* (1816), the anonymous *Lettres de Saint-James* (1821-1826), and other notable works, was doubtless the author of the *Manuscrit venu de Sainte Hélène*. cf. *Journal des débats*, Oct. 7, 1841, p. 3; also A. A. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 3d ed., vol. 3, col. 58-59.)

— FORREST B. BOWE

The | New-England | Primer, | Improved, | For the more easy attaining
the true read- | ing of English. | To which is added, | The | Assembly of
Divines | Catechism. | With other useful and entertaining matter. | *Litch-*
field: | Printed by Collier and Buel. | M.DCC.XCII. |

Unrecorded. I would appreciate a statement of the collation of this edition.

— ALBERT C. BATES

The | New-England | Primmer: | Improved; | For the most easy attain-
ing the | True reading of English. | To which is added, | The Assembly of
Divine's Catechism. | *Norwich*: | Printed by John Sterry and Co. | M,DCC,
xcv. | [72 pages, 36 leaves], no signatures.

Unrecorded. A copy in my possession has 33+ leaves.

— ALBERT C. BATES

The | New England | Primer, | Improved. | For the more easy attaining
the true | Reading of English. | To which is added, | The | Assembly of
Divines Catechism. | With other useful and pleasing Matter. | *Litchfield*:
| Printed by Thomas Collier, | 1798. 72 pages, 36 leaves, [A], B-C¹².

Unrecorded. Copy in possession of Samuel H. Fisher, Litchfield, Conn.

— ALBERT C. BATES

Sweep-Embargo's New Year's Message. To his Subject, Loyal and Rebellious. Throughout His Dominions. [Albany, 1809.] 4to, pp. 12.

Unrecorded. At the end of the poem, which is signed Sweep Embargo, the date and publication are given in the following words, "Done at our Imperial Palace in our City of Albany, this first day of January, 1809, second year of our reign. God Save the People! ! !"

— OSCAR WEGELIN

UNITED STATES. Inspector's Office, Washington, Feb. 19, 1812. At a General Court-Martial, of which Brigadier General Peter Gansevoort is President, convened at Frederick-town, in the state of Maryland, on the 2d of September, 1811, and continued by adjournments to the 25th of December following, Brigadier General James Wilkinson was tried on the

following charges and specifications, viz: [n.p. 1812] 16mo, pp. 37. Caption title.

Sabin's entry, 104030, is from an unidentified catalogue clipping. A copy of the pamphlet is now in the Dayton Public Library, a photostat in NN.

— LESLIE W. DUNLAP

[VANDELEUR]. *Travels to the Westward, or the Unknown Parts of America: in the years 1786 and 1787. Containing an account of the Country to the Westward of the River Mississippi, together with its Productions, Animals, Inhabitants, Vegetables, Curiosities, . . .* By Alonso Decavles . . . *Printed by Alden Spooner, at Windsor, (Vt.), M,DCC,XCIV.* 12mo, pp. 36.

Unrecorded. Copy in my possession.

— THOMAS W. STREETER

Modern Literature

ALCOTT, LOUISA MAY (1832-1888). *Hospital Sketches*. Boston: James Redpath, 1863.

The copies of this book bound in green boards may definitely be regarded as of the first impression. The author, in her "Journals," recorded that she received her first copies from the publisher in the evening of August 25th, 1863; ". . . an edition of one thousand and I to have five cents on each copy." On August 26th her father, Amos Bronson Alcott, mentions the arrival of this "green covered" volume for which he predicts a great success. My copy of this book is the one Louisa May Alcott gave her sister May, the date of the inscription being "August 25th 1863." In the September entry of her "Journals" the author says, "'Sketches' sell well, and a new edition is called for. . . . Received \$40 from Redpath for 'Sketches'—first edition."

The suspicion that the cloth copies are not merely another binding but of another printing is strengthened by the fact that the advertisement leaf following the last page of text is a part of the final signature. This leaf is a blank in copies bound in boards.

— HOWARD S. MOTT

DOYLE, A. CONAN (1879-1928). *Memoirs | Of | Sherlock Holmes | By | A. Conan Doyle | Author Of "Adventures Of Sherlock Holmes" | "The Refugees" "Micah Clarke" Etc. | Illustrated | (Publishers' device) | New York | Harper & Brothers Publishers | 1894 |*

Collation: (a)⁴, (A)-S⁸. Size: 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Contents: Endpaper; [i-ii] blank; frontispiece (inserted); [iii] title-page, as above; [iv] Copyright, 1893, by A. Conan Doyle. | (Rule) | Copyright, 1894, by Harper & Brothers. | (Rule) | All rights reserved.; [v] Contents; [vi] blank;

[vii-viii (the last misnumbered vi)] Illustrations; 1-251, text; [282] blank; [283-288] advertisements; endpaper.

Illustrations: Frontispiece and twenty-five others, all inserted.

Binding: Blue mesh cloth. Front cover stamped in black with an elaborate design, and gilt lettered and ruled beneath this: *Memoirs | Of | · Sherlock · Holmes · | (Rule) | · A · Conan · Doyle · |*. Back cover blank. Spine gilt lettered and ruled with ornament stamped in black: *Memoirs | Of | Sherlock | Holmes | (Rule) | Doyle | Harpers |*.

First American Edition.

Note: The second edition contains 259 pages of text, only, has the words: *New And Revised Edition* on the title-page, and differs in other particulars.

The first edition is a book of considerable importance as it contains the first printing in book form of *The Cardboard Box* which was omitted from the English edition of the *Memoirs* and was not issued again in either country until 1917 when it turned up in *The Case Book*. Doyle tells, in his autobiography, that he refused to print *The Cardboard Box* in the *Memoirs* (it first appeared in *The Strand Magazine*, January, 1893) because he came to regard it as an affront to pure womanhood and felt that Holmes' illusions to the misdemeanours of the lady might lead someone astray. Harpers, in reprinting the stories from *The Strand Magazine*, unwittingly included *The Cardboard Box*, and, upon Doyle's immediate protests, withdrew the edition and reprinted the book omitting it.

— DAVID A. RANDALL

THACKERAY, W. M. (1811-1863). *Vanity Fair*. 20 parts in 19. London, 1847-1848.

It has long been noted that the last four parts of *Vanity Fair* occur with the front wrapper sometimes dated, sometimes undated; and with the bracket after the volume number and before the word *Price*, present in some copies, absent in others. However, so far as I know, no general examination of the problems presented has been undertaken by anyone.

Examination of these parts reveals clearly that the undated parts are not merely the same as the dated parts with only the date omitted, but are entirely reset. There are numerous differences but the following are typical:

(a) The *dated* parts xvi-xviii measure vertically, within the outer border rules, approximately $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches; the *undated* parts $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

(b) The subtitle, *Pen And Pencil Sketches Of English Society*, measures, from the capital *P* to the final period, approximately 4 inches in the *dated* parts; $\frac{7}{8}$ inch less in the *undated*.

It should be noted, for what it is worth, that the measurements of the dated parts from xvi on are closer to those of parts i-xv than are those of the undated parts.

The final part, a double one, xix-xx, exists both dated and undated, and with, in addition, variant imprints. Up to and including part xviii, the imprint is: *London: | Published At The Punch Office, 85, Fleet Street. | J. Menzies, Edinburgh; J. McLeod, Glasgow; J. McGlashan, Dublin.*

Part xix-xx has the imprint, in *dated* copies: *London: | Published At The Punch Office, 85, Fleet Street. | J. Menzies, Edinburgh; Thos. Murray, Glasgow; J. McGlashan, Dublin.*; while in *undated* copies the imprint is the same except that for *Thos. Murray, Glasgow*;, the reading is *T. Murray, Glasgow*;. All of the parts, incidentally, are printed by Bradbury & Evans.

The brackets noted above, after the number and before the word *Price*, are absent in some of the dated copies, present in some of the undated ones.

The evidence, therefore, is clear that the wrappers of at least the last four parts of *Vanity Fair* exist in two forms. Whether these are states or issues is uncertain on the present evidence. The parts are so scarce that additional information from owners as to the measurement of their parts, either dated or undated; of the presence or absence of the brackets; and of the imprints on the final part, would be most welcome. Copies with contemporary inscriptions should be most closely noted. The question of the wrappers is, incidentally, only one of several perplexing problems connected with *Vanity Fair*. A note on textual problems will be given in the next number.

— DAVID A. RANDALL

REVIEWS

American Imprints Inventory. The WPA Historical Records Survey Program. Division of Professional and Service Projects. Works Projects Administration. No. 10. Check List of Kansas Imprints 1854-1876. Topeka, Kansas. The WPA Historical Records Survey Project, 1939. xxxvii, 773 pp. Mimeographed, on rectos only. 10¾ x 8¼ inches.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill early in the year 1854 was one of the most momentous legislative acts in American history. It provided for the establishment of the Territory of Kansas, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the reopening of the slavery question. Thus by indirection, in its ultimate, if unexpected, consequences, it made Kansas the theatre of internecine strife and the preliminary testing ground for the impending War between the States.

It is a boon not only to historians of the period, but also to students of territorial printing, that there now appears a bibliography of the local imprints of this epochal period, with locations of the items described.

The volume is entitled *Check List of Kansas Imprints, 1854-1876*. It is Publication No. 10 of the American Imprints Inventory, and is issued under the distinguished editorship of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie. It provides yet another example of the magnificent results which can be achieved by subsidized coöperative bibliographical research. Most of the field work was done or supervised by Mr. E. B. Langsdorf and Miss Iowa Jones, who were under the direction of Mr. Harold J. Henderson, Kansas State Supervisor of the Historical Records Survey. In conjunction with this work in the Kansas libraries, the findings of librarians and staff workers in 187 libraries throughout the country were coördinated, edited and checked by Miss Geraldine Beard under the direction of Mr. McMurtrie and his able assistant Mr. A. H. Allen. Credit is also due to Mr. Kirke Mechem and Miss Helen McFarland, Secretary and Librarian respectively of the Kansas State Historical Society, whose library contains the almost unbelievable total of 1,381 imprints, more than half of which are believed to be unique.

The bibliography thus compiled comprises upwards of 2,000 titles and may be said to embody practically every existing shred of primary local source material for the history of "Bleeding Kansas" from the initial sanguinary struggles for factional control to the era of established peace and settlement.

Primary interest naturally attaches to the earliest issues of the press, and in this connection it is of interest to note that only two items of the first year of territorial printing, 1854, are known, and neither of these bears the place or date of printing. The first of these is a four-page proclamation issued by Governor Reeder announcing an election to be held November 29, 1854. It was probably printed at Kickapoo or Leavenworth. The other is a Carrier's Address assumed to have been printed at Leavenworth. The first item to bear an actual imprint is a broadside notice of a mass meeting of Lawrence citizens, issued by the *Herald of Freedom* press in January of 1855. Apparently the next item in chronological order is another broadside — discovered too late for inclusion in the bibliography — announcing a public sale of lots at Pawnee, where Governor Reeder convened the first legislature (allegedly to enhance the value of his property there) in July. This broadside is dated Pawnee, K. T., March 12th, 1855, and bears the imprint, *Herald Office, Leavenworth, K. T.*

The main centers of printing were Leavenworth, Lawrence and Topeka from whence more than half of the total body of imprints emanated. From the two first mentioned points came most of the earlier printing, but Topeka, which became the State Capitol, leads in sheer number of titles, the tally being 227,224, and 402 items respectively. The only other important center before 1877 was Atchison, with 49 titles.

In all some fifty-odd towns are represented, including Fort Scott, Ottawa, Emporia, Holton, Lecompton, Manhattan, and Wyandotte.

A particularly interesting phase in the evolution of Kansas can be traced in the constitutions issued by the rival parties. The first of these was the free-state "Topeka" Constitution, which appeared as a broadside, dated Leavenworth City, 1855. It is known in a single copy, that in the collection of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter. Agitation for the acceptance of this constitution was renewed in 1857, when it was reissued as a sixteen-page pamphlet printed at the Lawrence Republican Office. The pro-slavery party then promulgated the "Lecompton" Constitution, and the free-staters retaliated with the "Leavenworth" Constitution, which was also issued as a broadside at Lawrence. The battle of constitutions came to an end with the free-state "Wyandotte" Constitution of 1859 under which Kansas was admitted to the Union.

Bibliographically this check-list leaves little or nothing to be desired. Its descriptions are careful, line titles are given, sizes are in centimeters, and various simple rules are followed so as to render each listing as accurate and clear as possible.

CHARLES EBERSTADT

World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies. Edited by P. Caron and M. Jaryc. Oxford, International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1939 (-1940). (Sold in America by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York.) xiv, [2], 391 pp. 10 x 6½ inches.

The *World List* enumerates in alphabetical order 3,103 periodical publications in the historical sciences (numbered 1-2861). It is an elaboration of the *World List of Historical Reviews* (2,400 numbers) published in 1936 as *Bulletin* 31 of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The present volume contains an index of editors of all periodicals entered, an index of abbreviations as used in the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, and an elaborate subject index.

Each item is described by title — if in a language other than English, French, German, Spanish or Italian, the translation is given in one of these languages — initial date of publication, names of directors and editors, number of issues per annum, place of publication, name of publisher and standard abbreviations.

The editors of the *World List*, Messrs. Caron and Jaryc are well known to the student of European history, not only as editors of the *International Bibliography* but also as compilers of the *Répertoire des périodiques françaises philosophiques, historiques, philologiques et juridiques*. Caron together with Henri Stein edits the excellent *Répertoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France*, while Jaryc is co-editor of the current *Bibliographie critique des principaux travaux parus sur l'histoire de 1600 à 1912*.

Because of the international scope of this publication, the editors had to rely on the coöperation of many scholars all over the world, on their knowledge and their good judgment. According to its program the *World List* comprises besides periodicals devoted to general history, "publications dealing with auxiliary historical sciences, ethnography and folklore, archaeology, history of art and literature, social, economic and constitutional history [and] political economy." This broad scope has not been uniformly observed: "Although very definite, our instructions have not everywhere been interpreted in the same way." As in any such undertaking omissions are inevitable. Without going into a very elaborate process of checking the reviewer noted some such lacunae: *American-German Review*; *American Journal of Sociology*; *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society*; *Divulgacion historica*; *Frontier Times*; *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History, now in Progress at the Chief American Universities* (discontinued since, but taken over by the *American Historical Review*); *Newfoundland Quarterly*; *The Quarterly, Historical Society of Southern Cali-*

formia; *Repertorio historico. Organo de la Academia antikeña de historia* (Medellín); *Social research*, an international quarterly of political science; *Utah Historical Quarterly*, etc. In archaeology, to choose one arbitrary field, some American periodicals have been entered, while others have been omitted without apparent reason, e.g. *American Antiquity*, published by the Society for American Archaeology; *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (with material on American Indians); *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*; *Revista de arqueología*, La Habana. Not to be misunderstood, I want to state that these omissions are cited not as much as a criticism but in response to the editors' own request for additions. It is hoped that historians and publishers, here and abroad, will respond to this appeal and furnish the editors with the fullest possible information on omissions, on newly founded and on discontinued periodicals.

As mentioned before, the arrangement is alphabetical. The list might have been easier to use, had it been divided into three major groups: (1) International and national historical periodicals; (2) Local history periodicals; (3) Periodicals in related and auxiliary fields. A real difficulty, however, is presented by the entire lack of cross references. In all cases where periodicals are known under more than one title, where a periodical is published with titles in different languages (e.g. no. 1169a: *Internationaler Jahresbericht*=The Year's Work in Bibliography) such references seem essential. An index of issuing or sponsoring institutions might be a worthwhile addition to a new edition, particularly welcome to the English and the American user who is frequently more familiar with the corporate entry than with the title.

Some entries are annotated to bring out information on bibliographies comprised in periodicals, rules of classification followed, the scope of publications and the nature of bibliographies. Such information is extremely valuable and it is therefore regrettable that it has not been given consistently. To give but one example: The bibliography, "Recent literature of the Renaissance," included in each April issue of *Studies in Philology*, is not mentioned under this periodical, nor is the subject interest brought out in the index.

The importance of the list of abbreviations is obvious to all of us who are interested in the standardized use of abbreviations. Institutions of learning and editors of scholarly periodicals should be urged to consult this comprehensive set in their work.

The subject index is alphabetical. Numerous subdivisions under the subjects and the great number of *see also* references make the index moreover

a partly classified index. Under France for example the following subdivisions are given: art, colonies, ecclesiastical history, folklore, language and literature, libraries, monuments, museums, popular arts, Protestantism, revolution and Third Republic. Reference is made under the same heading to 164 French locals and departments. In addition the subject index includes multiple references. The latter are not as consistently applied as would have been desirable. German folklore was found twice under Germany (entered under its vernacular form Deutschland) but sixteen times under Folklore — Germany.

On page ten of the preface the authors state, that "the outbreak of the war and the urgent necessity of bringing our task to an end as quickly as possible prevented us from pursuing our revision any further. . . . Some of the information contained in this book has now become but of retrospective interest." It is sincerely hoped that Mr. Caron and Mr. Jaryc both will be able to prepare an even better *World List* in a not too distant future, in a new era of intellectual coöperation.

RUDOLF HIRSCH

THE TEXTUAL RELATIONS OF THE THACHER MANUSCRIPT ON CO- LUMBUS AND EARLY PORTUGUESE NAVIGATIONS

By WILLIAM JEROME WILSON

THE period of the great voyages of discovery and the period of the development of European printing, as has often been noted, roughly coincided. It was possible, therefore, for the news of the explorations to be disseminated not only by word of mouth or by manuscript but also by means of the printed page. How many fleeting broadsides or small pamphlets about the discoveries were printed, circulated, read eagerly, passed on to others, and finally worn out or thrown away, we shall never know. Certainly there were a good many.

The earliest surviving printed collection of narratives about the voyages to America is a little booklet of sixteen folios, published by Albertino Vercellese da Lisona at Venice in 1504, with the title: *Libretto de tutta la navigatione de re de Spagna de le isole et terreni novamente ritrovati*.¹ It is one of the most famous books in

¹ G. Berchet, *Comunicazione sulle lettere di Angelo Trevisan intorno ai viaggi di Colombo*, in *Atti del R. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Venice, 1890-1891, XXXVIII, 903-18, discusses the possibility that the *Libretto* was really first published in 1503 or even 1502, suggesting that the first twelve folios (quires A-C, containing forty lines to a full page) represent that earlier edition, and that the last four folios (quire D, containing only thirty-nine lines to a page, and carrying the date of 1504 in a colophon) represent a resetting and reprinting. He notes that the paper of the first twelve folios has a watermark of five hills and a cross, whereas the last four folios are on a different paper, whiter and thinner, with a watermark of the balances. He also points out that the last four folios seem to be better corrected. It would be a matter of great interest to test these observations in the copy at the John Carter Brown Library, especially since that copy contains, as the Venice copy does not, the title-page, which is the first leaf of quire A. Pending a more conclusive

the world, one of the least pretentious, and one of the rarest. Two copies are known. One, without the title-page, is at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. The other, a perfect copy, is at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence. There were several reprints in the next few years, as well as translations into Latin, French, German, and Dutch, all of which helped to spread the information over Europe. The most famous reprint was as a part of a larger collection of voyages, the *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo*, edited by Fracanzio da Montalboddo at Vicenza in 1507. This includes also the narratives of Cadamosto, of de Cintra, of Vespucci, of the Portuguese voyages to India and to the northwest, and other material. The *Paesi* is only a little less famous than the *Libretto*, and a little less rare.²

There is at the Library of Congress, in the John Boyd Thacher Collection, a manuscript that bears a very close relation to the *Libretto* and the *Paesi*, inasmuch that it has at times been represented as the direct source from which those volumes were printed. This, as a detailed comparison will show, cannot be the case. Nevertheless the manuscript may well be earlier than the editions, even though not their direct ancestor. Also it throws important light on the origins of the *Libretto*, and at times it preserves more accurate readings, especially of proper names, than are found in any other source. It has long been regarded therefore, by those best qualified to judge, as one of the great historical manuscripts of the world.

A recent investigation of its contents has led to a discovery which may, if confirmed, even enhance the value of the manu-

estimate of this theory of a 1502 or 1503 edition, I have in the present article referred to the *Libretto* as of 1504. Trevisan's first covering letter, in 1501, suggests to Malipiero that he may soon have a printed copy, not of the Italian, but of the original Latin, if Peter Martyr succeeds in persuading the Doge to publish it. As a matter of fact, it was 1511 before the Latin text saw the light.

² I have occasionally consulted the Library of Congress copy of the original 1507 edition of the *Paesi*, but it is of course more convenient to use the modern facsimile edition of the 1508 reprint, as found in *Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies*, vol. VI, Princeton, 1916. The textual differences between the two editions are very slight.

script. The first thirty folios are devoted to Columbus and two of his Spanish successors. The remaining fifty-two folios (not counting two blank at the end) are chiefly devoted to the Portuguese navigations, especially toward India. But near the end of this Portuguese section is a small narrative of about six pages beginning: "By an oversight it was omitted, in the story about Columbus, how he sent five caravels from the island of Hispaniola to the nearby country called Cuba, with orders to skirt the coast toward the south and southeast to a certain place where he had information that pearls were found."

The "information," it would seem, came from the natives, some of whom accompanied the expedition. The ships, we are told, started on September 28 and sailed south-southeast, keeping in sight of land, apparently along the Lesser Antilles, then bore off to the southwest across the open Caribbean, and after twelve days (i.e., on October 10) reached a coast where there were extensive pearl-fisheries. The methods of the divers are described at length. Some of the sailors visited also a native village about three leagues inland. They then reëmbarked and journeyed westward along that coast for 2,500 miles, or thirty-five days, passing many bays, promontories, and islands, and finally returning to their captain Columbus on Hispaniola. It can hardly be doubted that this long coast, if the story is not sheer fiction, is that of South America. There are a number of points of vagueness and uncertainty about the narrative, but the most surprising fact is that by an indirect method the journey is apparently assigned to 1494, four years before the accepted date of the discovery of the South American mainland by Columbus.

Every group of specialists has a set of values of its own, and it must be a constant source of amazement to the ordinary citizen to see what things scholars can become enthusiastic over. To the suggestion that the American mainland may have been discovered four years earlier than has been supposed, the normal reaction is likely to express itself in the vernacular phrase, "So what?

It *was* discovered, wasn't it? The white race seems to be here." But to the historian the finding of such a narrative seems important, and the possible fixing of a new date for the discovery of South America seems crucial. These, admittedly, are special interests and enthusiasms, but by an audience such as this they will at least be viewed with sympathetic indulgence.

Whether this small narrative in the Thacher Manuscript is authentic and South America really was discovered by the Spaniards on October 10, 1494, no one at present can tell. It would be equally rash either to say that it must be or that it cannot be so. The question is extraordinarily complicated and the evidence is difficult to evaluate. A previous paper³ on the subject did little more than set the problem forth for discussion, but there are various methods by which the investigation may be carried somewhat further toward a solution. One is to consider whether the narrative of the journey to the pearl coast and around the Caribbean Sea is a physical possibility. Are the specifications as to dates, directions, and distances compatible with the facts of geography, with the prevailing winds and currents, and with the capacities of fifteenth-century caravels? Another line of approach is this: Does the Italian show signs of being, as it should be, a translation from the Spanish and of representing the original account of an eye-witness? Still another method is to search the pertinent literature for other traces of this narrative. Professor S. E. Morison found certain elements of it in the Spanish historian Gomara, who published a *History of the Indies* in 1552. Gomara works it in with the third voyage of Columbus in 1498. In fact he makes Columbus take a side trip southward from the Island of Margarita in order to visit the pearl coast in person. This is one of the most interesting of Gomara's rearrangements of history, and

³ W. J. Wilson, *A Narrative of the Discovery of Venezuela (1494?) in the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations*, read before the third convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, Feb. 19-21, 1940; preprinted separately by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1940.

invites careful comparison with the narrative in the Thacher Manuscript. These and certain related questions, forming what may be called a direct attack on the problem, are to be dealt with shortly in an article in the *Geographical Review*.⁴

An indirect attack upon the problem may be made by investigating the origin, date, and general reliability of the Thacher Manuscript as a whole. Is it a late forgery or a practically contemporary account? There is in the manuscript no colophon giving the scribe's name or the date of copying. The volume is written in a hand of the early sixteenth century, but no dating by paleographical evidence alone is ever absolutely satisfactory. The indications from the script, however, are confirmed by the watermarks in the paper. Two different marks are found, neither of them identifiable with precision, but both of them typically Italian of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The first shows two arrows crossed, closely resembling Briquet 6274 and 6280. The second shows a ladder in a circle surmounted by a star, resembling Briquet 5920 and 5922. The volume contains seven quires of twelve leaves each. Quire *a* and also quire *b* except for the inner pair of leaves, have the first watermark; the inner pair of *b*, and all of quires *c*-*g*, have the second. Thus the physical facts present no obstacle to the supposition that this is a genuine manuscript of the early sixteenth century.

Careful scrutiny of the opening page tends to confirm the idea. It begins: "Copy of letters sent by Angelo Trevisan, secretary of the magnificent and most illustrious Messer Domenico Pisani, worthy ambassador to the most serene king and queen of Spain." These facts are perfectly accurate. Angelo Trevisan is well known to have been in 1501 the secretary of Pisani, who was Venetian ambassador to Spain. On the next line, spaced toward the middle, are the words "Prima lettera [First letter]." Then,

⁴ Since the above was written, it has been necessary to divide the discussion into two articles, the first of which is entitled: *Fifteenth-century Narratives of the Spanish Discovery of the South American Mainland*. Gomara will figure in a later article on the narratives composed in the sixteenth century.

over at the end of that line, are the words "a tergo [on the back]." Letters at that time were folded for transmittal and the address was written on the back. In the next line of our manuscript the address is copied: "To the magnificent and most clement Dom Domenico Malipiero . . . Venice." The name of the place, "Venetiis," is again neatly spaced, doubtless about as it stood on the back of the folded letter.

It has seemed worth while to try to give a picture of this first page, because the alignment and spacing indicate almost certainly that the copy was made direct from the original letter. This is of importance in estimating the date of the manuscript. No one acquainted with the habits of scribes need be told that at a second or any subsequent copying all this careful alignment and spacing would almost certainly be lost and the words would be strung along in solid lines. This is not a mathematical demonstration, of course, but it is a very high probability.⁵

As the first letter explains, Angelo Trevisan, a young secretary attached to the Venetian embassy in Spain, had become acquainted with Peter Martyr, who knew Columbus personally and had compiled a Latin account of the American discoveries. Trevisan copied the Latin of Peter Martyr, translated it into Italian, and sent it home in four instalments to his former employer, Domenico Malipiero, the famous Venetian annalist, who made a specialty of gathering information of this sort. Each instalment was accompanied by a covering letter from Trevisan to Mali-

⁵ The details may all be seen in the facsimile of the first page as published nearly fifty years ago with G. Berchet's edition of the first thirty folios of the manuscript, in the *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana*, part III, vol. I, 1892, 46-82. The text was not made by Berchet direct from the MS., but from a hand-written copy transcribed for his use by Mrs. Ellen Salmon, supplemented by some photographs. In the collation of the text with other MSS. and editions Berchet had the assistance of Professor Alberto Salvagnini. It would be a matter of no small interest to recover Mrs. Salmon's transcript, but I am informed by Dr. Leonardo Olschki that this is probably impossible, since the records of the Commissione Colombiana, including the undistributed copies of the *Raccolta*, were stored for many years in such unfavorable conditions that they deteriorated almost to the point of disintegration. The *Raccolta* itself is therefore now a distinctly rare book.

piero. The four letters, dated between August and December of 1501, are copied off in our manuscript, each at the appropriate point. No other early manuscript or edition contains them. The *Libretto* of 1504 published the historical material only, omitting the covering letters of Trevisan.

The *Paesi* of 1507 reprinted the *Libretto* text, but added a number of other narratives. Most of these describe early Portuguese navigations, and are found also in the Thacher Manuscript. There are no covering letters given for these, and we are thrown back upon conjecture for an explanation of their presence in Venice. Most of them are in letter form. One was addressed by a Florentine merchant resident in Lisbon to some gentleman in Florence. How did a copy of this happen to get over to Venice? Another is an abstract of a letter from King Manuel of Portugal to the king and queen of Spain. How did this reach Venice? The last of the narratives about the Portuguese is a letter describing the voyage of João da Nova, who returned from India to Portugal in September of 1502. A more accurate copy of the letter was received in Venice the following January by Marino Sanuto, in whose diary it is preserved. How did the less accurate text in the Thacher Manuscript reach Venice? The most likely answer to all these questions is that Angelo Trevisan, who had already transmitted the four instalments of the Columbus narrative to Malipiero in 1501, secured copies of these other narratives in 1502 and sent them on to him, probably in successive instalments.

This supposition is confirmed by two things. One is that Trevisan's first covering letter refers to a narrative that Il Cretico was working on regarding Cabral's voyage to India. The later covering letters refer to Il Cretico as still working on it. Trevisan promises to send Malipiero a copy of it as soon as it is available. When therefore we find as the third item in the Thacher Manuscript a long narrative about Cabral, it seems practically certain that this is Il Cretico's work, which Trevisan has finally obtained and forwarded.

The other point is that almost at the end of the manuscript the narrative about the pearl coast is introduced with a backward reference to the treatise on Columbus: "By oversight it was omitted, in the story about Columbus, how he sent five caravels," etc. This cross-reference from the next to the last item in the manuscript to the very first one makes it extremely likely that not merely these two narratives but also the material in between were transmitted by Trevisan himself.

After the story of the pearl coast there is only one item more. This is the report of the native Indian Christian, Joseph, who had come back with Cabral's fleet to Lisbon in 1501, and who arrived in Venice in June of 1502. Through interpreters someone took down his report as to conditions in India. It is provided with a concise two-page introduction summarizing the main facts of Cabral's voyage and of Joseph's own career. This cannot have been written, as is commonly supposed, by Montalboddo, editor of the *Paesi*, since the same introduction occurs in the Thacher Manuscript. Evidently the report was intended to circulate alone, probably in the form of a printed pamphlet. At any rate, it was not sent over by Trevisan from Spain.

As regards the origin of the Thacher Manuscript, therefore, the probabilities are these: that between August and December of 1501 Trevisan sent to Malipiero from Spain the Italian translation of Peter Martyr's story of Columbus; that during 1502 he sent other travel narratives, including Il Cretico's story of Cabral and the little anonymous narrative about the pearl coast; also, that the copy now known as the Thacher Manuscript shows every sign of having been made directly from the papers sent by Trevisan, and is not a copy of a copy.

This does not, however, establish a definite date for the writing of the manuscript. It cannot have been copied before 1503, since it refers to an event that occurred in January of that year. How much later it is is not immediately evident. The papers sent by Trevisan to Malipiero might conceivably have been kept for a

quarter or even half a century, and then copied, though the general probabilities are all against that.

The real clue to the more accurate dating of the manuscript lies in its relation to other early sources, particularly the *Libretto*, the *Paesi*, and two manuscripts at Ferrara⁶ and at Venice.⁷ Berchet in 1892 published an edition of the Columbus portion of the manuscript, but in spite of the great importance of his work his textual apparatus is glaringly defective. Only a few of the more striking of the variant readings in the *Libretto* and the other manuscripts are given. As for the mutual relations of the various sources, that problem seems never to have arisen in his mind.

Until a complete collation of the sources has been made, no final statement is possible as to their interrelations. Already, however, a few generalizations have emerged. In the first place, despite their very close similarity in most respects, neither our manuscript nor the edition of 1504 can be directly dependent either on the other. The *Libretto* of 1504 cannot be derived from the Thacher Manuscript, because the *Libretto* contains the third voyage of Columbus, which the manuscript does not have. On the other hand, the manuscript cannot be derived from the *Libretto*, because the manuscript contains the four Trevisan letters and a seven-page description of the superstitions of Hispaniola, all of which the *Libretto* does not have. Evidently the edition and

⁶ In the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Ferrara, cod. 10. P. 9. 1. The Trevisan version of Peter Martyr is on ff. 1-44, entitled: *Successo della prima navigazione di Colombo ammirante del re di Spagna della insule et terreni noviter scoperti dalli antiqui incogniti*. This is followed by other items, the last being a copy of a letter dated Dec. 28, 1506. A complete photographic copy has just been secured by the Modern Language Association Committee on the Reproduction of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books, and has been deposited in the Library of Congress. The text was edited, but according to Berchet not accurately, by G. Ferraro, *Relazione delle scoperte fatte da C. Colombo, da A. Vespucci e da altri dal 1492 al 1506*, Bologna, 1875. This also appeared as number 144 in *Scelta di curiosità letteraria inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XVII*.

⁷ In the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, cod. ital. VI. 208 [= no. 5881], entitled: *Viaggiatori antichi*. The Trevisan version of Peter Martyr is on ff. 129r-148r. This, and all other texts in it that are in the Thacher Ms., have been secured by the Modern Language Association in photographic copy.

the manuscript both go back to a common source, which was undoubtedly the actual papers sent by Trevisan. The Thacher Manuscript was copied off while those papers still had the four covering letters in their proper position. When the edition of 1504 was printed, those letters were presumably separated from the historical narrative and apparently were never restored; at any rate no subsequent manuscript or edition—in particular not the manuscript at Ferrara—takes any notice of them again. There is considerable probability, therefore, that the Thacher Manuscript was copied before the year 1504 when the papers were rearranged for the edition. This is not a cogent demonstration, but it makes 1503 by far the most likely date for the copying of the manuscript.

Much detailed study remains to be done on the individual texts; hence, nothing more is possible now than a report of progress. To set forth the main problems and the general lines along which their solution will probably proceed, two tables have been prepared. The first shows in detail the constituent parts of Trevisan's Italian translation of Peter Martyr's Latin narrative about Columbus, as these appear in the Thacher Manuscript of (presumably) 1503, in the *Libretto* of 1504, in the Ferrara manuscript written some time after 1506, in the *Paesi* of 1507, in the Princeton facsimile of the 1508 reprint of the *Paesi* (included because of its ready availability), in the 1511 edition of Peter Martyr's *Oceani decas*, and in the large manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice called *Viaggiatori antichi*, containing some dates as late as 1518, 1520, and 1523, though the part in question was probably written considerably earlier. The chief value of this first table is to set forth vividly to the eye the fact that the Thacher Manuscript and the *Libretto* cannot be dependent either upon the other; also that the four covering letters of Trevisan, having once been removed from the four instalments of his translation (presumably at the time of the printing of the *Libretto* of 1504), never make their reappearance in any subsequent man-

uscript or edition, whence it seems to follow that the Thacher Manuscript, which includes the letters, was probably copied off earlier than 1504. What the table does not show is any significant fact regarding the relationships of the Ferrara manuscript. These, when the textual collation is complete, may prove important.

The second table shows the distribution of the nine documents of the Thacher Manuscript, along with other items, as they appear in the *Libretto* of 1504, in the Ferrara manuscript dated after 1506, in the *Paesi* of 1507, in the Princeton facsimile of the 1508 reprint of the *Paesi* (included because of its ready availability), and in the *Viaggiatori antichi* of the Biblioteca Marciana. A little study of the table will show that this Venice manuscript is in all probability a copy, from its sixty-fourth to its one hundred and sixtieth folio, of the text of the printed *Paesi*.⁸ If so, then its independent value for the Trevisan text, or for any others found in the *Paesi*, will be nil.

It is a large volume, with many pages left blank between the principal treatises. Apparently the copying was done at intervals over a considerable period of years. Certain of the later portions are stated to have been finished in 1518, 1520, and 1523, but the Columbus narrative was probably copied much earlier. The Odorico and Marco Polo narratives, which stand at the beginning, must have come from some other source than the *Paesi*.

⁸ The possibility of such a relationship between the Venice MS. and the *Paesi* was apparently never suspected by Berchet, but Paolo Revelli, in his *Cristoforo Colombo e la scuola cartografica genovese* (Genoa, 1937), p. 55, came independently to this conclusion. Revelli alludes also to the possibility that the *Libretto* may have been printed in an edition earlier than that of 1504, and regards it as proved that the translation by Trevisan was the basis of the *Libretto*. It is not quite clear whether he means by this the Thacher (formerly Sneyd) MS. or merely the text of which that is a representative. In passing it may be noted that Revelli, writing in 1937, supposes the MS. in question to be still at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, although it came to the Library of Congress as a deposit about 1910. For some time prior to 1910 it was on deposit at the Harvard Library, in the custody of Mr. Lane, but apparently no studies on it were published at that time. It was first acquired by John Boyd Thacher in 1903, and finally became the property of the Library of Congress in 1927 through Mrs. Thacher's bequest.

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF THE TREVISAN MATERIAL IN THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES

	<i>Thacher Manuscript</i> (copied ca. 1503)	<i>Peter Martyr de Anghera</i> (composed 1493- 1501; first printed 1511)	<i>Codex Ferrarensis</i> (copied after 1506)	<i>Codex Marcianus</i> (copied ca. 1508-1523?)	Libretto (1504)	Paesi (1507)	Paesi (1508) <i>facs. ed.</i> of 1916
First Trevisan letter, dated at Granada, Aug. 21, 1501	Ff. 1r-2r						
First voyage of Columbus (1492-1493) and the be- ginning of the second (1493)	[Ff. 2v-6v: "1 ^o li- bro de la 1 ^a na- vigazione"]	[Book I (addressed to Ascanio Sforza in Nov., 1493) and one paragraph of book II]	[Ff. 1r-6r: "Suc- cesso della pri- ma nauigation di Colombo"]				
Second Trevisan letter, dat- ed at Granada, [Sept., 1501]	Ff. 6v-7v			Ff. 129v-131v	Ch. i-viii	Ch. lxxxiii- xc	Pp. 102-107
Second voyage of Columbus, to the founding of Isabella on Hispaniola (1493)	[Ff. 7v-13v: "2 ^o libro de la 2 ^a navigazione"]	[Book II (addressed to Ascanio Sforza in May, 1494)]	[Ff. 6r-16r: "Se- condo libro del- la nauigation di Colombo"]	Ff. 131v-136r	Ch. ix- xiii, line 5	Ch. xcii- xcvi, line 6	Pp. 107-113
Third Trevisan letter, dated at Exigia, Dec. 3 [1501]	Ff. 13v-14v						
Second voyage of Columbus (continued), exploring Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica (April-Sept. 1494)	[Ff. 14v-18v: "3 ^o libro de la 3 ^a navigazione"]	[First part of book III (addressed to Lo- dovico d'Aragona in May, 1500)]	[Ff. 16r-22v: "Li- bro tercio" [in- complete at end; 2 leaves missing]]	Ff. 136r-138v	Ch. xiii, line 5- xv	Ch. xcvi, line 6- xcviii	Pp. 113-117
"Superstition de la isla Spa- gnola" translated from Roman (or Ramon?) Pane	Ff. 18v-22r	Last part of book IX					

Fourth Trevisan letter [Dec.,
1501, or Jan., 1502] F. 22r

Second voyage of Columbus (continued), organizing settlements on Hispaniola (1494-1495)	{ Ff. 22r-23v: "4 ^o libro de la [4 ^a] navigazione" }	{ First part of book IV (containing a state- ment that it was written in 1501) }	{ Ff. 23r-28r: [In- complete at be- ginning; title doubtless was: "Libro quar- to"] }	{ Ff. 138v-139v }	Ch. xvi- xvii, line 22	Ch. xcix-c, line 23	Pp. 117-119
Second voyage of Columbus (concluded) and later events on Hispaniola (1495-1496)	{ Ff. 23v-26r: "5 ^o libro de la 5 ^a navigazione" }	{ End of book IV and part of book V }		Ff. 139v-141r	Ch. xvii, line 22- xxi	Ch. c, line 23-civ	Pp. 119-122
Third voyage of Columbus by way of Trinidad and Paria to Hispaniola (May- Sept., 1498)		Book VI	{ Ff. 28r-34v: "Li- bro quinto del- li antipodi" }	{ Ff. 141r-143v }	Ch. xxii- xxiii	Ch. cv-cvi	Pp. 122-125
Third voyage of Columbus (concluded in Nov., 1500)		Book VII		Ff. 143v-144r	Ch. xxiv- xxv	Ch. cvii- cviii	Pp. 125-126
Voyage of Pero Alonso Niño beyond Paria (June, 1499- April, 1500) for pearls	{ Ff. 26r-28v: "6 ^o libro de la 6 ^a navigazione" }	Book VIII	{ Ff. 34v-39v: "Li- bro sexto delli antipodi" }	Ff. 144r-146r	Ch. xxvi- xxviii	Ch. cix- cxi	Pp. 126-129
Voyage of Vicente Yañez Pin- zon to Paria (Dec., 1499- Sept., 1500) for pearls	{ Ff. 28v-30r: "7 ^o libro de la 7 ^a navigazione" }	First part of book IX	{ Ff. 39v-44r: "Li- bro septimo del- li antipodi" }	Ff. 146r-148r	Ch. xxix- xxx	Ch. cxii- cxiii	Pp. 129-132

Summary and conclusion Book X

Section omitted by inadvertence: expedition sent by Columbus from Hispaniola to a pearl coast (Sept. 28-Nov. 14)

{ Ff. 68v-71v:
"questa navi-
gatione con-
zonta cum la
3^a naviga-
tione" }

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF DOCUMENTS IN THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES

	<i>Thacher Manuscript</i> (copied ca. 1503)	<i>Codex Ferrarensis</i> (copied after 1506)	<i>Codex Marcianus</i> (copied ca. 1508-1523?)	Libretto (1504)	Paesi (1507)	Paesi (1508) <i>facs. ed. of</i> 1916
Odorico			Ff. (?)-(?)			
Marco Polo			Ff. (?)—63			
Montalboddo's introductory letter to Anzolello			Ff. 64-(?)		Before ch. i	P. 8
Cadamosto			Ff. (?)—(?)		Ch. i-xlvii: book I	Pp. 9-62
Pedro de Cintra			Ff. (?)—111r		Ch. xlviii-1: book II	Pp. 62-67
1. Trevisan's translation of Peter Martyr on Columbus	Ff. 11r-30r: books I-VII	Ff. 11r-44r: Books I-VII	[See below, after no. 4]	Ff. 21r-16r	[See below, after no. 4]	[See below, after no. 4] Pp. 67-74
2. Sernigi's first letter on Vasco da Gama's voyage to India	Ff. 30v-35v	F. 111r-v (the first twenty lines only)			Ch. li-lix: book II (continued)	Pp. 74-76
Sernigi's second letter on Vasco da Gama					Ch. lx-lxii: book II (continued)	Pp. 76-100
3. Il Cretico's narrative on Cabral's voyage to India	Ff. 35v-56r		Ff. 111v-129r		Ch. lxiii-lxxxi: books II and (at ch. lxxi) III	Pp. 100-102
4. Lists of prices, etc., in India	Ff. 56r-57v [see also f. 65v]				Ch. lxxxii-lxxxiii: book III (concluded)	Pp. 102-132
[1. Trevisan's translation of Peter Martyr on Columbus]	[See above]	[See above]	Ff. 129r-148r	[See above]	Ch. lxxxiii-cxiii: book IV	Pp. 132-142
Vespucii's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici		Ff. 44r-56r: book VIII	Ff. 148r-(?)		Ch. cxiii-cxxiii: book V	
Columbus's letter from Calése to		Ff. 60r-74v				

5. Pasqualigo's letter on Cortes real	Ff. 58r-59v	Ff. 151v-152v	Ch. cxxv[i]: book VI (continued)	Pp. 145-147
6. Manuel's letter on Cabral	Ff. 59v-65v			
[4a. Lists of prices, etc., in India, revised for Venetian use]	Ff. 65v-66v [see also no. 4 above]			
7. Affaitadi's letter on João da Nova	Ff. 66v-68v		Ch. cxxvii: book VI (continued)	Pp. 147-149
Spanish merchants' letter to correspondents			Ch. cxxviii: book VI (continued)	Pp. 149-153
8. Section omitted by inadvertence: expedition sent by Columbus from Hispaniola to a pearl coast	Ff. 68v-71v			
9. Report of Joseph the Indian	Ff. 71v-82v	Ff. 152v-160r	Ch. cxxix-exlii: book VI (concluded)	Pp. 153-165
Vianello's letter of Dec. 28, 1506	Ff. 75r-77v			
Mandeville		Ff. 160r-(?)		
Other narratives		[F. 165 is dated in 1518] [F. 178 is dated in 1520] [F. 247 is dated in 1523] [Total of 260 ff.]		

But folio sixty-four has the dedicatory letter which Francanzio da Montalboddo, the editor of the *Paesi*, addressed to Giovanni Maria Anzolello; and from there on the order of items is exactly the same as in the *Paesi*, although the manuscript omits four or five of them and abbreviates certain others. But omissions and condensations are no bar to a theory of literary dependence. Significant insertions or amplifications, on the other hand, are a different matter. There are, for example, fairly frequent rubrics that are peculiar to this manuscript. They form a series of lively and arresting titles, doubtless intended to strike the eye. Among them are: *De le isole di camibali* (f. 130r; also on f. 131v); *Audi grandissima crudelita* (f. 132v); *Hora nota qui la continentia de queste done e la lascivia de cristiane* (f. 133r); *Como caminareno uinti do ore de sole* [22 hours of sunlight] (f. 137r); *De alcuni serpenti che se manzano per cibo delichato* [serpents eaten as a delicacy] (f. 137v); *De uno certo pesce fantastico* [a fish said to move backwards] (f. 137v); *Audi cosa mirabile* [a group of thirty men clad all in white] (f. 138r); *Nota qui doi magni spectaculi* (f. 140v); *Audi stranie vite de homini* (f. 152v); etc. None of these but could with very little effort have been made up by the compiler from the text that he was copying. As he copied, he also expanded or paraphrased a great many sentences, making them often a little more detailed and more entertaining as compared with the *Paesi*. He has, in fact, produced for the Trevisan translation what a New Testament critic might almost be tempted to call a "Western text." It is still possible that some of the additions may turn out to be of such a character as to upset the simple theory of dependence on the *Paesi*, but no such reading has yet appeared.

The manuscript at Ferrara was published as long ago as 1875, but somewhat inaccurately. Berchet's edition of the Thacher Manuscript gives certain selected variants from the Ferrara text, but not enough to decide definitely its place in the history of the manuscript transmission. It includes one item—the Vespucci letter to Lorenzo de' Medici—which appears in the *Paesi* but not

in the Thacher Manuscript. A critical comparison of the text of that letter in these two sources has yet to be made, but may yield some useful information. The chief interest, however, of the Ferrara volume is its copy of Trevisan's translation, without, however, the four covering letters. The *Libretto* is anonymous, making no mention of Trevisan; but the copyist of the Ferrara manuscript still knows whose work this is and mentions him by name. Twice near the end of his translation Trevisan used the first person singular, not in his letter to Malipiero, but in the historical narrative itself. At the end of book VI he is discussing the pearls brought back from Curiana by Alonso Niño, and remarks: "I saw a great quantity of these." The Ferrara manuscript recasts this to read: "And Messer Anzol Trivisano, secretary of the most illustrious Signory of Venice, being in Spain, saw a great quantity of these."⁹ The remark disappears from the *Libretto*, the *Paesi*, and other editions, as also from the manuscript at Venice.

In book VII a monstrosity is described, an animal combining the head and face of a wolf, the tail and hind feet of a monkey, the front ones ("quelli davanti," i.e., arms) of a man, ears like the wings of a bat, and having a pocket in which to carry its young. The progeny of this particular specimen had died on ship-board, and the animal itself died after reaching Granada. "And I saw it dead," says the text of the Thacher Manuscript; but the Ferrara manuscript reads: "This animal, having been taken from Seville to Granada to the most serene Majesties, died, and the aforesaid Anzolo saw it dead."¹⁰ The *Libretto* does not omit this remark, but generalizes it: "These, when dead, were seen by many different persons." The Venice manuscript here follows the *Libretto* and *Paesi* exactly.

There is a picture of the animal in the Ferrara manuscript, and

⁹ Thacher Ms., f. 28v, line 3 (ed. Berchet, III, I, p. 80, note 1); Ferrara Ms., f. 39v, lines 10-12 (ed. Ferraro, p. 116).

¹⁰ Thacher Ms., f. 30r, line 1 (ed. Berchet, III, I, p. 81, note 3); Ferrara Ms., f. 42v, line 12-f. 43r, line 8 (ed. Ferraro, p. 123, with the picture of the animal as fig. LXXVI at the back of the book).

while the likeness is far from perfect, it is doubtless intended for the South American opossum, which is related to the kangaroo. As a matter of fact, a whole series of eighty-three sketch-maps, diagrams, and illustrations appear in that manuscript and greatly enliven the text, though I cannot find any passage in which the text refers to them. The drawings may go back to Trevisan and possibly even to Peter Martyr, but there is no trace of them in the Thacher Manuscript. They appear again in the margins of a partial copy of the printed *Paesi* of 1507, a copy which Alessandro Zorzi prepared with the evident purpose of publishing a revised edition of the Trevisan text.¹¹ A comparison of the two sets of drawings, with a view to determining whether Zorzi copied them direct from the Ferrara manuscript, has yet to be made. Like the rubrics of the Venice manuscript, these drawings may prove to be wholly secondary, merely produced by an imaginative artist who had read the text.

In textual details the Ferrara manuscript is at times nearer than most others to what may be presumed to be the original of Trevisan. One famous case, often mentioned in the literature of the subject, is the development of the double name, "Joanna Mela," for the island of Cuba. Of the two large islands which he discovered on his first voyage, Columbus named one Española (now Haiti) and the other Joanna (now Cuba). "But Joanna," says the next sentence of the account, "he did not know for certain to be an island." In the Thacher Manuscript this is: "Ma la Zoana,"

¹¹ This, though not strictly a ms., is numbered in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, as cod. Magl. XIII. 81. It contains on ff. 2r-28r a portion of the printed *Paesi* (1507 ed.), viz., chapters LXXXVIII-CXIII, being most of the Trevisan version of Peter Martyr. Chapters LXXXIII-LXXXVII (but with an apparently accidental omission of the contents of exactly one leaf of the *Paesi*) have been filled in by hand on f. 11r-v from some copy of the *Paesi* text. There are two other hand-written additions (ff. 13r-14v and 18r-20v), the longer one being a translation of Peter Martyr, *Oceani decas* [= Decas I of his larger work], part of book V (in the 1533 edition, ff. 13v-14v). For the text of the Trevisan translation of Peter Martyr this item has evidently no independent value, and it is therefore omitted from the tables. The Modern Language Association has also secured a photographic copy of this item. Apparently Zorzi's revised edition never saw the light.

etc. The two words "ma la" were misread by some copyist or printer, and appear in the *Libretto* and other editions as "Mela," which is then attached to the preceding sentence, making "Joanna Mela." The manuscript at the Biblioteca Marciana has "Joanna Mella." Cuba appears on some of the early maps with this double name. The Ferrara manuscript, however, in this passage agrees with the Thacher in reading "ma la."¹²

Another famous misreading is in book IV, which describes the expedition of Pero Alonso Niño. His last name is spelled "el Nigno" in Italian, and so appears in the Thacher Manuscript. But only a slight misapprehension would make of this "el Nigno" or "el negro," and it so stands in the manuscript at the Marciana and in the *Libretto* and other editions. This results in "Alonsus Schwartze" in the German translation of 1508, and "Alons le noir" in the French of 1515. This time the Ferrara manuscript disagrees with the Thacher and puts down the corrupt reading, "el Nigro."¹³

The proper names are a fruitful source of confusion, and in one instance the Ferrara manuscript seems to have manufactured the name of a city out of a common noun. Proper names, of course, at this period are often not capitalized, so that that safeguard is lacking. Near the end of book II the original Latin of Peter Martyr remarked that Columbus selected [*elegit*] a place near a harbor in order to found a city. This appears correctly in the Thacher Manuscript: "Lo admirante fece electione," manifestly translating "*elegit*." Out of "electione" the Ferrara manuscript makes two words, "el cifrone," the "el" being the article

¹² Thacher MS., f. 2r, line 4 (ed. Berchet, III, I, p. 49, line 10); Ferrara MS., f. 1v, line 9 (ed. Ferraro, p. 24). In his introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Libretto*, Paris, 1929, pp. 7-8, L. C. Wroth gives one of the latest and clearest discussions of the point.

¹³ Thacher MS., f. 26r, line 13 (ed. Berchet, III, I, p. 77, line 30); Ferrara MS., f. 35r, line 2 (ed. Ferraro, p. 106); German edition by Jobst Ruchamer, *Neue unbekante landte und ein newe weldte*, Nuremberg, 1508, chapters cix-cxi; French edition by Mathurin du Redouer, *Le nouveau monde*, Paris, 1516, chapter cix.

and "cifrone" being evidently understood as the name of a place. But the Italian has another form of the article, "lo" instead of "el." The Venice manuscript, substituting this, produces "lo Cifrone," and the *Libretto* puts this together as a single proper name, "Locinfrone."¹⁴ Other instances might be offered, but this is one of the clearest in which a reading in the Ferrara manuscript seems to mark a sort of halfway stage to still stranger readings in the *Libretto* and elsewhere.

One must not, however, jump to the conclusion that the Thacher Manuscript, the one at Ferrara, and the *Libretto* of 1504 form a direct line of transmission, one after the other, in that order. The precise relations of the Ferrara manuscript are far from clear. Manifestly it was copied *after* the rearrangement and selection represented in the *Libretto* had been made. Since it is all in one hand and contains at the very end a letter of Vianello dated in 1506, one might suppose it to be a copy made from the printed edition. It has, however, no trace of the *Libretto's* division into thirty chapters, but retains a division into seven books arranged almost as in the Thacher Manuscript. It does not follow the *Libretto* in the corrupt double name "Joanna Mela." On the whole, the most likely supposition is that the Ferrara copy was made from the original Trevisan papers some time after the printer had finished using them. This, however, is far from proved; there may well have been a copy or copies intervening that are now lost.

From this brief survey of a few crucial passages certain indications have emerged as to the relations of the various manuscripts and early editions. The Zorzi is wholly secondary, the Venice manuscript is at least largely so, the Ferrara manuscript is very close to Trevisan's own text, as are also the *Libretto* and *Paesi*. But the most important fact of all is that in general the readings of the Thacher Manuscript, at least for the text of Trevisan, ap-

¹⁴ Thacher Ms., f. 13v, line 11 (ed. Berchet, III, I, p. 60, line 29); Ferrara Ms., f. 16r, line 11 (ed. Ferraro, p. 61).

prove themselves as consistently more reliable than those of any other one source. It has "Joanna ma la"; it has "fece electione"; it retains the first person for at least two statements by Trevisan himself in his narrative; it also has his covering letters. These facts strongly confirm the supposition that the Thacher Manuscript was copied direct from the papers of Trevisan, and by a very accurate scribe.

There are instances, however, in which our scribe has preserved an obviously bad reading that only a little exercise of the critical faculty would have sufficed to correct. A striking example is found in the letter (October 19, 1501) of Pietro Pasqualigo regarding the second voyage of Gaspar Corte-Real to the northwest, from which he never came back. Two of his ships, however, did return, and from the mariners Pasqualigo learned of the customs of the neolithic savages on the Labrador or Newfoundland coast. These people wore skins, especially of the otter. "In summer they turned the fur on top, and in winter the reverse." The *Paesi* has here: "De instade uoltano el pello in suso e de inuerno el contrario." The Venice manuscript reads: "La estade uoltano el pello di fuora, e lo inuerno lo contrario." But the Thacher Manuscript gives the extraordinary text: "Christade voltano el pelo in suso et de inuerno al contrario."¹⁵ Anyone familiar with the script of this period will recognize "christade" as an easy corruption of "de instade." If "christade" stood in the copy sent by Trevisan to Venice, then the editor of the *Paesi* was observant enough to correct the error, whereas the scribe of the Thacher Manuscript copied, as usual, just what he found in his exemplar. He apparently regarded himself as a copyist, not a corrector, of texts.

When we consider what these tentative conclusions mean

¹⁵ Thacher MS., f. 58v, line 9; *Paesi*, chapter CXXVI (Princeton facsimile edition of the 1508 reprint, p. 146); Venice MS., f. 152r, line 18. The Pasqualigo letter of Oct. 19, 1501, was edited by Berchet, in the *Raccolta*, III, I, 89-90, from the text of the Venice MS. There is no indication in his introduction or elsewhere that he knew the item to be in the Thacher (then Sneyd) MS. at all.

regarding the authenticity of the story about the pearl coast, we find the evidence favorable as far as it goes—which is not very far. The narrative is in good company. It is reported through the high diplomatic channels of the Venetian embassy in Spain and Portugal. The copy in the Thacher Manuscript probably represents with great fidelity the text of the narrative as sent by Trevisan to Malipiero. If this manuscript says that the narrative “joins on to the third navigation,” then that is in all probability just what the report of Trevisan said. But beyond this the responsibility is all Trevisan’s, and the study of the textual relations of the Thacher Manuscript has no further bearing on the case.

LOUIS RICHARD CORTAMBERT AND THE FIRST FRENCH NEWSPAPERS IN SAINT LOUIS, 1809-1854

By JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

1

THE first French newspaper to be established on a sound basis in Saint Louis was the *Revue de l'Ouest*, founded in 1854 and for a decade edited by Louis Richard Cortambert. It may be thought strange that that city in its first ninety years should have produced no successful French language newspaper. A consideration, however, of population statistics explains the failure of such projected publications before 1854. Founded by Pierre LaClède in 1764, the town became immediately the chief trading place and the political center for the upper part of the Mississippi Valley. It enjoyed, therefore, an importance, wealth, and outside contacts unusual for an eighteenth-century village deep in the wilderness. Nevertheless, it remained a very small place. Within a few years of founding it had several hundred people and, at the time of transfer nearly four decades later, it had only about seven hundred white inhabitants, a total that included a small number of Spanish and a sprinkling of other nationalities. Although the whole territory of which Saint Louis was the capital had a total population of ten thousand three hundred, only about one-fourth were French. The failure of the French to establish a press was not owing either to the indifference or the ignorance of the French settlers. It is clear that no newspaper was needed to inform the people of a town so small; it is

equally clear that no newspaper could have found the necessary financial support. The French population in Saint Louis increased both by birth and by emigration from France, but the growth was small, for the town in 1830 had only about six thousand inhabitants. During the next ten years, however, the population increased threefold, and by the end of another lustrum had again tripled itself. In 1854 the city had more than one hundred thousand people. A sufficient time had now elapsed for the natural increase in French-speaking population and for the increase by immigration to furnish a sufficiently large American-French group to support a newspaper in the French tongue. I shall summarize the successive attempts that culminated in the establishment of the *Revue de l'Ouest*.¹

In 1808 the first press was brought to Saint Louis by Joseph Charless, who began to issue the *Missouri Gazette* in July of that year. Whether the idea had been suggested to him by some of the local French or was his own attempt to increase the profits of his enterprise, Charless published in his *Gazette* of November 30, 1809, a "Proposition pour publier a St. Louis, une Gazette en francais par semaine sous le nom de la MOUCHE DU OUEST [*sic*] dans la quelle on donnera connoissance des nouvelles politiques domestiques et étrangères les plus interessantes; ou le sentiment general de chaque citoyen sera reçu lorsqu'il ne blessera ny l'honneur ny le devoir." This weekly was to be issued in quarto size for three dollars cash or four dollars "in bills" per year. Publication would begin as soon as one hundred subscriptions had been received.

Evidently the subscribers did not come forward in sufficient numbers, for no more do we hear of the *Mouche du Ouest*. Late in

¹ The only bibliographical discussion of this subject has been Alexander Nicolas DeMenil's "French Newspapers" in Hyde and Conard's *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, 4 vols., St. Louis, 1899, II, 836-837. For publications before the establishment of the *Courrier de St. Louis*, 1850, DeMenil has nothing of value.

I have checked the *Union List of Newspapers* and the catalogue of the Mercantile Library of Saint Louis for the papers mentioned hereafter; the few files extant will be mentioned in the proper places.

the winter, however, we find again proposed a "Gazette hebdomadaire," entitled *Gazette de la Louisiane*, in which would be inserted "les nouvelles les plus interessantes; ainsi que tous les airs particuliers." This time the subscription was to be four *gourdes* (dollars) in advance and once more the publisher expected to receive a hundred subscriptions before issuing the first number.² This second proposed newspaper was no more successful in getting started than the first, for no further notice of it appeared. The only recognition in Charless's paper of the existence of a French population in Saint Louis was the issuing for many years of legal notices and of many advertisements in the French as well as the English language.

For the third attempt we have a bit more history. The prospectus of *L'Etoile du Missouri*, which Messrs. Foreman and Keemle proposed to publish weekly in French, is much more detailed than were previous notices.

Nous avons le bonheur de vivre sous un Gouvernement équitable; et qui ne fait aucune distinction entre les citoyens quelque soit leur origine;—quand nous avons tous les mêmes droits, privileges, et intérêts, nous devrions tous avoir aussi la facilité de pouvoir nous informer des principes et de la politique de notre gouvernement, et de la manière dont il est administré. L'objet principal des éditeurs sera donc de donner à leurs concitoyens Français, le moyen de s'instruire dans leur langue maternelle, des opérations, élémentaires et pratiques de leur gouvernement adoptif.

La population Française, par ses richesses et son étendue, est indubitablement intéressée au bonheur de l'Etat du Missouri, et par son accroissement dans toutes les parties des Etats-Unis, elle est necessairement aussi, intéressée au bonheur et à la prosperité générale de l'Union. L'histoire de notre pays, fournit des preuves, que le Français est bon Républicain, bon Patriote, bon Citoyen, et véritable Americain.

On ne peut oublier les services, qui nous ont été rendus, dans notre revolution, par le général LAFAYETTE et par la nation Française.—Ce sera un tâche bien agréable pour les éditeurs de cultiver et de chérir le bon entendement qui a réunir les deux nations dans cette occasion hasardeuse.

² *Louisiana Gazette*, Saint Louis, March 29, 1810. Charless apparently was to be the publisher. The French of these early announcements suffers from the inadequacy of type at the disposal of the printer.

Le républicanisme sera la b  se de la politique du L'ETOILE; et tandis que les   diteurs feront des observation fidelles sur le gouvernement local, ils n'oublieront pas les affaires de l'Europe; au contraire, ils feront leur possible, pour se procurer et fournir    leurs patrons toutes les nouvelles utiles et int  ressantes tant   trang  res que particuli  res.

Ils auraient d  sir   commencer imm  diatement la publication de ce papier; mais ignorant que sera le nombre de leurs Souscripteurs, ils attendront quelque tems encore avant d'en fixer le jour.

Le prix de la souscription sera de *trois gourdes* par an, payable lors de la livraison du 1^{er} Num  ro.³

This prospectus, or, rather, its publishers, called forth a vigorous reply by one who signed himself "A Gallo-American."⁴ This writer, in a communication to another paper, objected to the basic contention that such a paper was needed. "There was a time, indeed," he said, "when the Gallo-Americans stood in great need of a newspaper published in the French language. This was eighteen or twenty years ago. At the present time, a great many of them are no more; as to those that were then not far advanced in years, they have learned English, a few only excepted, and all the new race speak English, as if it were their vernacular tongue." In fact, the whole tone of the letter was one of disapproval of the publishers and contempt for the manner in which they expressed themselves. To him it was clear that this new sheet was intended merely to influence the Creole vote: "The intended Editors have been lavish of encomiums on that part of the population of this state which is of French extract, and which they denominate '*French population*,' although, by the by, it is as much American as the rest." He was annoyed by the condescending description of the local French as "bon Republicain, bon Patriote, bon Citoyen, et v  ritable Am  ricain"—"why indeed," he asked, "should they

³ *Missouri Advocate*, Saint Louis, October 22, 1825. This prospectus appeared as late as December 10, 1825, but I find no announcement of actual publication.

⁴ John B. C. Lucas came from Normandy to western Pennsylvania in 1784 and moved to Saint Louis in 1805. For his early life consult my "John B. C. Lucas in Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXI, September, 1938, 209-30. He is identified as the "Gallo-American" in the third of his letters.

be otherwise?" He ended his denunciation by pointing out errors in grammar and in the accenting of words. "More faults," he concluded, "might be pointed out by a better critic than I am; but this is enough to induce me never to encourage such incompetent editors. If we wish that our children should retain the language of their ancestors, let it be in its purity."⁵

Such a condemnation annoyed the proposers of the new paper. The pseudonym of the critic did not conceal his identity nor prevent a vicious personal return for his criticism. "The *old communication-maker*, in the last *Republican*, over the signature of 'A Gallo-American,' is assured," the *Advocate* replied on the twelfth of November, "that the compliment paid to the French citizens of this place, in the prospectus for publishing a paper in the French language, *was not intended for him*. He is identified with the *insurrection of the Whiskey boys of Pennsylvania* and consequently, could neither be a good Citizen, good Republican, good Patriot, or good American." The controversy that continued does not add much to our knowledge of the proposed newspaper. "Gallo-American," in another communication to the *Republican* of November 21, 1825, pointed out reasonably that the charges brought against him were no answer to the criticism he had made; even were those charges true "would this change into good sense the absurdities which the prospectus is teeming with? Would it make the flattery it contains less fulsome? The artifice and low cunning, less disgusting? Would it make *genereus*, French?"

The response of the editors of the *Advocate* was a full column letter, addressed to John B. C. Lucas on December 3, reiterating their charges concerning the events of more than thirty years before, and two days later Lucas replied with his third and last letter in the *Republican*. By this time both parties to the dispute had forgotten the original cause—and no one else remembered the proposed political sheet that was to influence French votes.

⁵ *Missouri Republican*, Saint Louis, November 7, 1825.

More than a dozen years passed before another publication was designed for French readers in Saint Louis and this new venture was neither a newspaper nor was it to be entirely French. Since, however, it did succeed in putting out some issues and since some part of these were in French, it is to be mentioned here. An advertisement of *The Translator* appeared in the *Missouri Republican* of December 1, 1837, in which it was described as a periodical "devoted to Foreign and American Literature, and Promiscuous Essays. To be published every alternate Saturday, on a quarto sheet." In this magazine the publisher (who remains unidentified) planned to use selections from the "best continental writers" and to "translate, or *transfer* to my pages, whatever may be considered conducive to the information or amusement of my patrons." In addition, he intended to provide "essays of a graver cast" and he confidently hoped that "the liberal and enterprising spirit of the West . . . will lend its aid to this effort to diffuse intelligence and amusement." Finally, he declared that "as a highly respectable portion of the population of St. Louis is of French origin, detached articles will from time to time be given in that polished idiom." On the first day of the new year, the *Republican* informed its readers editorially that the second number of this publication had appeared two days before. It still remained mysteriously anonymous. "The Translator professes to be edited by *somebody*, but who does not appear on its pages. The number before us contains many good selections, and some original poetry, which is creditable to the writer. It is neatly printed." Thereafter, no more do I find of the *Translator* in the press of Saint Louis.

II

Thus far the record has been one merely of abortive intentions to publish. In 1840, however, we find two newspapers actually issued for some short time each, and we are introduced to Louis

Richard Cortambert, the first French editor of note in Saint Louis.

Le Telegraphe won a certain amount of publicity by a blunder in the *Missouri Republican* which announced on April 11 that "we omitted yesterday to acknowledge the receipt of the first number of a French paper issued in this city. La Telegraphe, Journal de L'Occident, by Mercredi & Samedi, on Chesnut street." The *Daily Pennant*, on the evening of the same day, was delighted with the discovery that "Messrs. 'Mercredi and Samedi'" had founded a French paper and emphasized the jest by repeating "the story of a man, who hearing another make use of the expression 'taking umbrage,' went among his friends and related as a piece of news that the *Dutch had taken Umbrage*." On the thirteenth a serious notice in the *Daily Pennant* informs us that *Le Telegraphe* was to be issued semi-weekly at six dollars a year. To make amends for its tardy notice of the newcomer, the *Pennant* reported on some of the material in the first number. Although this paper succeeded only in lasting out the month,⁶ we are fortunate enough to possess copies of four of its six numbers.⁷

On April 11, 1840, *Le Telegraphe* appeared as a small folio of four pages of three columns each. The names of editor and publisher were not given in the first number, but subsequent issues show that "M. Vergnes, L. Cortambert et Cie." were responsible for publication. Of Vergnes I can find no information; from a knowledge of Cortambert's later career and from the tone of the leading articles I assume that he was the actual editor of *Le Telegraphe*.⁸ The leading article of the first number (headed

⁶ "We regret to perceive that our estimable friends, 'Messrs. *Mercredi & Samedi*, [*Vide Republican*]' have discontinued the publication of '*Le Telegraphe*.'"—*Daily Pennant*, April 30, 1840.

⁷ April 11 and 29, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; April 15, New York Public Library; April 25, Library of Congress (*Union List of Newspapers*). For photostatic copies of these issues I am indebted to the libraries named.

⁸ Louis Richard Cortambert, the second son of Richard-Anne Cortambert and Louise de Laistre, was born at Dompierre-les-Ormes, Saône-et-Loire, France, 1808. After extensive travel, including two earlier trips to America, he settled at Saint

merely "St. Louis, 11 Avril 1840") is an excellent indication of the character of the editor and an interesting forecast of what he hoped the paper would be. I quote it in full.

On a dit, il ya long-temps, que la littérature est l'expression de la société. Elle a cela de commun avec les autres arts. Mais, comme elle est le plus universel de tous, comme elle embrasse les produits les plus variés de la pensée, on peut dire qu'elle représente de la manière la plus générale et la plus complète, l'esprit de la société. Qu'est-ce donc que la littérature en Amérique, et quel est le but d'un journal français dans la région occidentale des Etats-Unis?

La littérature, en Amérique, est dans les journaux. Les livres ne font plus qu'une exception. Industrie, commerce, science, beaux-arts, poésie, politique, religion, tout se discute, s'enseigne, se propage, par la presse périodique. Toutes les idées, tous les secrets de l'esprit humain, se révèlent, se communiquent avec la rapidité de la lumière, et pénètrent jusqu'aux derniers rangs de la société. Les hommes trop timides pour admirer et respecter autre chose que ce qui a été consacré par les siècles, ne voient dans cette divulgation, dans cette publicité indéfinie de la littérature, que des symptômes de décadence et de mort. Quelle indignité, quelle profanation, aux yeux de l'homme qui n'a jamais su vivre hors du passé, de voir les plus nobles conceptions de l'esprit livrées à toutes les classes, trainées dans toutes les rues et dans toutes les boutiques! La poésie à côté des calculs arides du commerce. Les révélations de la science près des spéculations du charlatan, les enseignemens d'une religion d'amour mêlées avec les diatribes haineuses de la politique! Il suffit de répondre que ces différentes choses ont toujours existé dans le monde, et que seulement leur expression devient plus complète, plus ouverte et plus publique qu'elle ne la jamais été. Il y a loin sans doute des hauteurs d'Homère, du Dante de Milton et de Racine à la littérature des bords du Mississipi. Mais du temps même d'Orphée et d'Homère, il y avait des marchands et des industriels; ou, en d'autres termes, les hommes étaient soumis comme aujourd'hui à des besoins matériels, d'autant plus tyranniques qu'on était moins avancé dans l'art de les satisfaire. Il y avait aussi de la politique, qu'on ne discutait pas avec la langue et la plume, mais qu'on décidait par des guerres atroces et des exterminations effroyables. Plus la littérature prend d'extension et de généralité, plus elle agrandit l'empire des idées, plus elle assure le gouvernement de l'esprit sur la matière. Le journalisme, en rendant universelle l'expression de la pensée, a ouvert une ère nouvelle dans la vie du genre humain.

Louis in 1840. At some time after the failure of his second venture into journalism there he served as French vice-consul. From 1854 until 1865(?) he was editor of the *Revue de l'Ouest*. About this time he moved to New York and there edited, with F. de Tranaltos, the daily *Messenger Franco-American* until his death in 1881. I am now gathering material for a biography of Cortambert.

Les publications de la presse Périodique sont devenues comme la respiration intellectuelle de l'humanité.

L'Amérique est le rendez-vous de tous les peuples ils y apportent le tribut de leur génie, de leurs mœurs, de leurs langues, pour en former un patrimoine commun. Mais les élémens dont doit se composer cette patrie future des hommes, sont loin d'être complets, loin d'être prêts à se mélanger. Long-temps encore ils s'agiteront et se livreront des luttes intestines, avant de se fondre dans un tout harmonieux. En nous déclarant les représentans de l'émigration française, ancienne et nouvelle, dans l'ouest, nous appellerons de tous nos vœux et de tous nos efforts l'accroissement de cette émigration. Nos faibles travaux auront pour but d'empêcher la langue et l'esprit de la France de périr dans un pays où presque tous les noms sont des souvenirs de notre vieille patrie. Ceci ne doit pas être pris pour une déclaration de guerre à quiconque parle une autre langue. On connaît assez le caractère cosmopolite du génie français. En quelque voie que nous nous engagions, nous nous regarderions comme des intrumens inutiles, si notre tendance définitive n'était pas vers l'union générale et vers le triomphe de la cause commune de tous les hommes. Si nous osons faire la guerre à quelque chose, c'est à l'esprit étroit de race et de nationalité, aux fureurs de secte et de parti. Il y a une portion de vérité dans toutes les opinions, et celui qui s'élèverait assez pour les dominer toutes du regard, embrasserait la vérité tout entière.

Perhaps of next interest in this number—for it again illustrates the character of the editor—is a critique of a speech on God.

Une grande nouveauté avait lieu dimanche dernier dans l'église épiscopale de cette ville: c'était une prédication en français par M. Prudhomme, ministre de l'Eglise Catholique Française, dont le chef est M. Chatel, *primat des Gaules*.

Dans la première partie de la séance, M. Prudhomme a lu des prières et des psaumes en vers, selon la liturgie de la nouvelle église. Nous avons le malheur de n'être pas grands admirateurs de la rime. En outre ces psaumes, faits pour être chantés, ne peuvent que perdre à être simplement déclamés. Cependant le bel organe de M. Prudhomme et son goût cultivé pour la déclamation ont fait impression sur l'auditoire.

Le discours qui a suivi, avait pour sujet *l'existence de Dieu*. L'orateur a montré plus de chaleur dans son attaque contre les athées, que de force dans les argumens en faveur de la grande vérité qu'il voulait démontrer. Il ne faut pas essayer de prouver aux hommes l'existence de Dieu; il faut seulement leur prouver qu'ils croient en Dieu, quoiqu'ils puissent dire, et qu'il n'y a véritablement pas d'athées, dans l'acception rigoureuse de ce terme.

Enfin M. Prudhomme a lu la profession de foi de l'Eglise Catholique Française, en y joignant quelques commentaires. Ici nous nous abstenons de porter

un jugement. Nous ferons seulement observer qu'il ne suffit pas de raconter quelques superstitions populaires et de jeter du ridicule sur les dogmes de l'Eglise Catholique Romaine, pour faire crouler ce monument antique et vénérable. La question est celle-ci, question débattue depuis long-temps entre le protestantisme et le catholicisme. Les hommes doivent-ils se conduire par les lumières de leur raison individuelle, ou doivent-ils être soumis à l'autorité de la tradition universelle, représentée par l'Eglise? ⁹

Half of the front page was given over, appropriately enough, to an article on the nature of the telegraph. On the inside pages one found the usual paragraphs of news, local, national, and foreign: the corner-stone of a new Catholic church was to be laid on Sunday, the Indians above Fort Leavenworth were troublesome, the tunnel under the Thames was nearly completed, Mlle. Taglioni was dancing in St. Petersburg, Fanny Essler was in London. But to solace Americans for the absence of the dancer ("Quelques journaux ont fait venir l'eau à la bouche aux Américains, en leur annonçant l'arrivée prochaine de cette sylphide"), there was lately arrived J. Bihin, the Belgian giant (eight feet and six inches tall) who had been playing Goliath in London. Add to these items reports from Montevideo, China, the Caspian, a letter by Julius Renard describing his "Voyage de Pittsburgh à St. Louis," a sketch clipped from *France Littéraire*, and about two columns and a half of advertisements on the last page. Such was the first number of *Le Telegraphe*.

In No. 2 (15 Avril) the leading article again is valuable as a further elucidation of Cortambert's idea of journalism.

Ou en est l'humanité? d'ou est-elle partie, et ou va-t-elle? Celui qui répondra à ces questions, aura résolu le problème autour dequel se sont agités les philosophes

⁹ The Reverend Dr. Prud'homme, according to the *Daily Pennant* of April 4, 1840, was to deliver his lecture "on the existence of God, (in French) in the Episcopal Church, on Sunday, the 5th of April, at 4 o'clock P.M. after divine service." *Le Telegraphe*, Avril 29, announced another of his lectures against atheism for Thursday the thirtieth at 8 P.M. The *Daily Evening Gazette*, April 25, wrote: "We are glad to understand that probably the Rev. Mr. Prud Homme will remain in St. Louis.—He is a man of talents and learning, and we do not care how many such come to settle amongst us.—He will preach to-morrow in French, at 4 o'clock, in Fifth street. He is a French Episcopalian Minister of good standing and character."

de tous les siècles. Se sont-ils agités en vain? Est-ce en vain que tous les sages ont médité? Est-ce en vain que les religions ont rendu leurs oracles? Non; car c'est l'ensemble même des théories religieuses et philosophiques de tous les siècles, qui constitue en abrégé l'histoire de l'humanité. Chaque livre, chaque temple, laisse échapper un trait de lumière; la vérité absolue, la vérité sans nuages, n'est dans aucun. Mais en recueillant ces rayons épars de la science du passé, on peut éclairer le point présent, et jeter quelques lueurs sur la région de l'avenir.

Les peuples, vivent et meurent comme des hommes. Chaque nation, dans sa période de force et de grandeur, dit: l'humanité, c'est moi. Mais bientôt elle se courbe sous la loi fatale de la vie, à la puissance de l'âge viril fait succéder la vieillesse et la decrepitude. Elle meurt. Et cependant l'humanité poursuit sa marche; elle n'a fait que dépouiller une forme vieillie, comme un vêtement inutile qu'on laisse derrière soi. Mais l'humanité aussi est soumise aux phases de la vie. Cet homme universel, dont l'existence embrasse la naissance, la vie et la mort de toutes les nations, a aussi eu sa naissance, et sans doute aussi il s'avance vers la mort. A quelle période de cette grande histoire sommes-nous arrivés? Pourrions-nous nous dégager assez des idées étroites d'école, de secte et de nationalité, pourrions-nous monter assez dans l'horizon de la science, pour embrasser le cours de ce fleuve, depuis sa source, et pour découvrir combien d'espace il lui reste encore à parcourir jusqu'à l'Océan dans lequel il va se perdre?

Avant de chercher à déterminer les caractères qui peuvent nous faire reconnaître les différentes phases de la vie humaine, il faut parler d'un phénomène matériel qu'un coup-d'oeil général sur l'histoire suffit pour constater: c'est la marche géographique de la civilisation. Dieu dit à Abraham: lève-toi, et marche vers l'Occident. Ce n'est pas seulement à Abraham, c'est au génie humain que cela fut dit. Il s'est levé de l'Orient, comme le soleil, et il n'a pas cessé de s'avancer vers l'Occident. Tout ce qu'il a laissé derrière lui est demeuré dans l'immobilité du sépulcre. La Chine, à l'extrémité de l'Orient, se croyait déjà parfaite il y a quatre mille ans; elle est restée pétrifiée dans son orgueil; et sa civilisation n'a pas fait plus de progrès que celle d'une ruche d'abeilles. Cependant de l'Inde s'élançaient déjà une métaphysique plus hardie et une théocratie plus savante; mais la force vitale y est restée étouffée sous la superstition et le despotisme. Les puissances colossales de l'Asie centrale et de l'Égypte menacent de tout asservir et d'enchaîner pour toujours la terre; la léthargie de la mort les gagne; elles s'endorment à jamais sous leurs sphinx et leurs pyramides. Mais depuis longtemps la lumière s'est faite en Europe. Le petit coin de la Grèce eclipse par la gloire de ses poètes, de ses artistes, de ses philosophes, toute la vieille Asie, qu'elle envoie enfin conquérir par une poignée de ses guerriers. Tandis que la Grèce, idolâtre d'elle-même, se contemple dans ses œuvres et se renferme dans le cercle vicieux de ses sophismes, le génie humain a fait encore un pas vers l'Ouest: il est en Italie. Rome se lève; sa tête domine tous les peuples; au moment où elle atteint le faite de la grandeur, elle reçoit en son sein un nouveau principe de vie,

qui vient aussi de l'Orient, et qui la fera un jour renaître de ses cendres; c'est le christianisme.

Les barbares, appelés à la lumière par l'instinct de leur destinée, bouleversent la puissance antique et organisent une autre civilisation, sous l'empire de la foi nouvelle, qui proclame l'égalité et la fraternité des hommes. Du travail lent des siècles sort enfin l'Europe moderne, avec la France pour tête, l'Allemagne pour cœur, et dont l'Angleterre et l'Espagne sont les bras tendus vers l'Occident, pour chercher et embrasser un monde inconnu. L'Occident, toujours l'Occident! L'humanité se presse en frémissant aux bords l'Atlantique. Enfin il est trouvé ce monde nouveau: le genre humain fait voile pour l'Amerique.

Les états se fondent; les cités s'élèvent; le joug de la vieille Europe est secoué; la nature est conquise. Toutes les langues, toutes les races, tous les éléments se confondent; et du sein de ce chaos éclot un nouvel univers. Nous assistons à ce travail; nous vivons dans cette crise prodigieuse de la nature humaine, aux avant-postes de la civilisation, sur les bords du roi des fleuves, au centre de ce grand théâtre de l'Amerique de nord, dans une ville qui en deviendra peut-être la capitale. Des Français furent les premiers emissaires envoyés par la Providence à l'exploration de la vallée du Mississipi. Français nous-mêmes, nous nous proposons d'explorer la nature morale et intellectuelle de ce monde naissant, et d'ajouter, s'il est possible, quelque chose à l'importance de l'élément français dans cette création nouvelle.

Où en est donc l'humanité? Est-elle loin de l'enfance? gravite-t-elle encore vers son zénith? se penche-t-elle déjà vers son déclin? Quelle est la destinée de l'Amerique? telles sont les questions auxquelles les investigations philosophiques de ce journal chercheront une réponse. Si les lecteurs sentent comme nous l'intérêt de pareilles recherches, nous espérons que nos efforts ne seront pas vains. Tout en nous soumettant à l'action suprême de la Providence, nous faisons professions de croire que le travail de l'homme entre comme un élément indispensable dans l'accomplissement des vues providentielles.

A report on the corner-stone laying once more illustrates the editor's lack of orthodoxy. He did not attack the Catholic Church; he merely said, in part,

Un des Pères du collège a terminé la cérémonie par un discours adapté à la circonstance. Il est difficile de parler d'une manière plus noble, plus simple et plus éloquente. Ce discours prononcé en plein air, à la face du ciel, a peut-être produit sur beaucoup de personnes une impression contraire à l'intention de l'orateur, qui voulait prouver la nécessité morale d'élever des temples à Dieu. Nous n'y voyons guère qu'une nécessité physique.

In this issue we see the beginning of the troubles of the paper. The first number was sufficient to cause a dozen persons, immedi-

ately upon reading it, to join in informing the editor that in it "nous avons trouve des observations qui ne s'accordent nullement avec les notres, surtout dans l'article date (St. Louis, 11 Avril 1840)"; consequently their names were to be stricken from the list of subscribers for they were resolved to receive the paper no more.¹⁰

Far calmer and more entertaining than these storms and promises of storms were some "rapides esquisses, ecrites en Egypte, en Arabie et en Syrie, dans le cours de l'année 1837,"¹¹ and an amusing letter, signed "Pinçon, père de famille," satirizing the darkness of Saint Louis streets. After the recital of difficulties which he met with one night when he ventured out of doors, Pinçon considered what might best be done and concluded: "Je pense qu'il serait bien plus simple, plus economique et plus judicieux, de faire paraître une ordonnance conçue en ces termes: 'il est defendu de sortir le soir de chez soi.'"

Number 5 (25 Avril) opened with an unsigned "historiette" entitled "La Fin du Monde." The issue contained the usual melange of European, domestic, and local news, a short letter from M. Pinçon on his favorite subject, a sketch of the famous library of Alexandria, and the page of faithful advertisers. The leading article was entitled "Liberte de la Pensee."

L'homme ne vit pas seulement de pain, mais aussi de la parole. Ces mots divins sont un abregé de tout ce qu'on peut dire sur la liberte de la pensee.

Celui qui ne travaille qu'a satisfaire la faim de son corps, et qui laisse son

¹⁰ The signers of this letter were: Eugene Jaccard, H. et C. Papin, H. F. Viguier, John Maeder, Louis Dubreuil, Cabrillac, Theodore Parmentier, Justin Morel, E. Peltier, Hyacinthe Renard, and J. B. Ternoit. (*Le Telegraphe*, April 15, 1840).

¹¹ A note at the head of the article declared they had not been previously published. The sketches were to be continued in the next number; unfortunately I have not been able to find the third and fourth numbers of *Le Telegraphe*. In No. 6 the sketch is concerned with Egypt and is continued from No. 4. None of the sketches published is signed, but I think that they are by Cortambert, for he was travelling in the Near East in that year. Cf. "Extrait du Voyage de M. L. Cortambert dans le presqu'île du Sinai, en 1837," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Juin, 1847, pp. 393-406 — this does not duplicate the portions I have seen in *Le Telegraphe* but it could readily fit in with them.

esprit se repaître au hasard de ce qu'il trouve, celui-là, dis-je, est esclave; il est à cote de la brute.

Celui qui travaille pour l'esprit, en le subordonnant aux besoins du corps, est un peu plus haut; mais il est encore esclave.

Celui qui est d'une secte, d'un parti, celui qui porte une robe, une livrée quelconque, celui qui a une position dans le monde, celui-là est encore esclave; il est esclave de sa position, de sa robe, de son parti, de sa secte.

Qui est-ce qui est donc libre? Personne.

Qui approche le plus de la liberté? Celui qui vit le moins de la vie du corps et de la vie du monde; celui qui satisfait les besoins de cette vie extérieure, mais qui est prêt à la sacrifier; celui qui aime. Souvenez-vous que celui qui aime, se hait et s'immole lui-même.

Ne dites pas que ceci est un langage mystique et incompréhensible. Il n'est pas un être humain qui n'ait reçu dans son cœur au moins une goutte de cette céleste rosée de l'amour, et qui alors ne se soit senti affranchi de toutes les misères humaines, et qui n'ait soupire vers le parole de vérité, nourriture immortelle de l'esprit.

Encore une fois, ne dites pas que ce langage est intelligible, car vous nous feriez croire que les enseignements du christianisme ont été perdus pour vous, Le christianisme, c'est l'amour et rien de plus; mais c'est l'amour universel, l'amour de Dieu et l'amour des hommes, la charité.

Ne dites pas que nous n'avons pas mission de vous parler de ces choses, attendu que nous ne servons aucune secte et que nous ne portons aucune robe. C'est cette raison-là même qui nous donne le droit de parler de la liberté de la pensée. Nous réclamons cette liberté pour nous et pour les autres, comme la conséquence légitime du christianisme; nous la réclamons contre toutes les formes extérieures, les préjugés, les entraves, dont l'intelligence est chargée.

Renfermez-vous, nous a-t-on dit, dans la politique et la littérature. Mais qu'est-ce donc qu'une politique bornée à des intérêts de parti, et qui ne se fonde pas sur des principes éternels? Qu'est-ce qu'une littérature qui parle pour ne rien dire? La mission du journalisme est plus grave qu'on ne le croit; et chaque jour ajoute à cette importance. La littérature, disions-nous en commençant, s'est réfugiée dans les journaux. Pourquoi donc, si ce n'est parce qu'elle est appelée à satisfaire des besoins plus impérieux et plus pressants? Pourquoi donc, si ce n'est parce que le monde ne veut pas vivre seulement de pain, mais aussi de la parole. Ce n'est pas nous qui ravalons la littérature à ne servir que de jouet et de passe-temps, à n'être qu'un ornement frivole, un luxe de l'intelligence. La littérature est le premier besoin de l'esprit humain arrive à l'âge viril; oui, le premier besoin; parce qu'elle renferme toute une religion. C'est à elle qu'il appartient naturellement d'établir le caractère sacré de la science, c'est à elle qu'est dévolu le sacerdoce de la pensée.

Nous avons invoqué l'amour comme le principe de la liberté intellectuelle;

nous esperons donc que nos paroles ne seront pas prises pour des provocations haineuses. Toutefois nous n'oublions pas que celui qui était doux et humble de coeur, celui qui prêchait la religion de l'amour, disait: "Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix au monde, mais la division." L'esprit humain ne peut pas avancer sans lutte. Il faut qu'il renverse des obstacles; il faut qu'il fasse la guerre. Et cependant ceux qui attaquent et ceux qui défendent sont également envoyés de Dieu; ils sont les instrumens d'une même Providence. Nous allons tous vers une même fin; et la liberté de la pensée ne saurait échapper aux limites de la destinée universelle.

Among items of interest in No. 6 (April 29) are an article on suspension bridges, signed M***, and a poem "A L***a," signed Moyenvic. Of most importance, however, is the farewell notice by the editor.

Nous remplissons un devoir pénible en prenant congé du public. Cette retraite subite excitera quelque étonnement. Elle n'a pas pour motif une impossibilité matérielle d'aller plus avant. Mais nous avons fait un essai moral; ce qui est permis, puisque toute la vie humaine n'est qu'une épreuve. Cet essai nous a démontré qu'une spéculation de ce genre s'accorde peu avec notre caractère, et que pour y réussir il faut savoir mieux que nous se faire rouages de la machine civilisée.

Nous nous retirons donc, parce que nous sentons que nous ne sommes pas à notre place. Nos reveries sont trop discordantes au milieu des grandes affaires d'intérêt et de politique qui agitent les villes; le silence et la paix des solitudes leur conviennent mieux. Nous espérons toutefois que l'appel fait par nous au vieux génie de la France dans la vallée du Mississipi ne sera pas perdu, et que de plus habiles viendront remplir la place que nous laissons vacante.

A ceux qui nous ont accueillis de leurs encouragemens nous adressons le témoignage de notre profonde gratitude. Peut-être notre souvenir viendra-t-il encore par la suite éveiller leur sympathie. A ceux qui nous ont poursuivis de leur haine sans nous connaître nous souhaitons un peu plus de charité, en leur tendant la main de réconciliation.

M. Vergnes, L. Cortambert. et Cie.

III

The suspension of *Le Telegraphe* after six numbers had been issued did not discourage another venture a few months later. Apparently it did, however, suggest to the new enterprisers a different method for conducting such a paper with greater hope

of financial success. In an editorial notice of July 10, 1840, the *Daily Pennant* drew the attention of its readers to the "prospectus in this day's paper, for the establishing of a *French department* to the Pennant. We can conceive no reason why the French population of St. Louis, Carondelet, St. Charles, Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, etc. etc. should not come forward liberally, and patronize this effort to establish upon a permanent basis an organ devoted especially to their interests and edification. Should the proposed plan be successful, a French gentleman every way qualified for the task, will be engaged to edit the French side of our paper, and every exertion will be made to render it exactly what it ought to be—an independent channel of general intelligence, local news and polite literature."¹²

The prospectus itself (set up by the compositor with a magnificent disregard for accents and other whims of the French language) made clearer the reason why this new paper might be more successful than its predecessor.

L'essai d'un journal Francais a ete accuilli avec quelque sympathie dans cette ville. Une publication de ce genre, trop faible peut-etre pour lutter seule contre les difficultes qui l'assiegeaient, peut se presenter avec confiance au public, en s'associant a une des feuilles les plus populaires de St. Louis. Il appartenait au *Pennant*, par son caractere independent, d'ouvrir ses colonnes aux manifestations de l'esprit Francais dans un pays qui doit aux Francaise ses premiers pas vers la civilisation. L'impartialite de race et de nation doit marcher de front avec l'impartialite politique.

The prospectus also informed readers that the new paper would appear three times a week "avec une page en Francais et une page en Anglais." The price of subscription was to be one *escalim* (bit) the week or five dollars the year.¹³ The editor, we discover presently, was Louis Richard Cortambert.

¹² This notice the *Pennant* repeated in French on Saturday, July 11.

¹³ *Le Pennant* was issued apparently as a separate newspaper from the *Daily Pennant*. No issues of it, however, are known to exist today. In the file of the *Daily Pennant* at the Missouri Historical Society (Saint Louis) are a number of advertisements in French but no issues of *Le Pennant* are bound in.

To indicate the response of the public the editor of the *Daily Pennant* on the fourteenth published a letter from "one of the most influential and learned French gentlemen in the State" (his name was withheld). "I saw with pleasure," wrote this correspondent, "that you intend devoting one side of your journal to the French language. I sincerely wish that this plan may be extensively patronized; and I would cheerfully contribute my mite to render the French columns attractive and interesting to the members of our church in Missouri and Louisiana, if I were morally sure that the editorial department will be properly conducted. If I find, dear sir," he promised in conclusion, "that it is such as to deserve my patronage, I will do all in my power to procure you a number of subscribers both in Missouri and Louisiana." Alas, we have no way of knowing whether the learned gentleman did throw the weight of his influence to the new periodical nor whether he wrote for its columns.

Le Pennant did not appear immediately on the stands. On August 19 the *Daily Pennant* was still talking about the excitement caused by the announcement of its intention to publish and was cheered by the approval of most of its friends. Apparently the French newspaper was soon to be issued and its prospects were good. "The French language is spoken by perhaps one-third of the entire population of this city," the *Daily Pennant* pointed out, "and in many of the adjacent towns the proportion is much greater. An organ, therefore, of that beautiful and now almost universal language cannot fail of proving highly interesting—particularly as many of those who own the English as their mother tongue, still deem their education deficient without a knowledge of the French—the most polished and elegant of living languages." On this occasion, too, prospective readers learned that *Le Pennant* would be conducted so as to "ensure to its patrons a chaste and spirited literary and miscellaneous melange, removed entirely from every political and sectarian influence, and aiming only to disseminate literary, scientific and commercial

intelligence." Furthermore, the "gentleman of learning and experience" who would fill the editorial chair had "the promise of assistance from some of the ablest pens in the city." To business men the new arrangement offered an advantage that no other press in town could give: advertisements were to be inserted in both French and English for the price of the ordinary insertion in English. It was pointed out that such advertisements would be quite effective, particularly in papers of which the combined circulation "will not fall short of *fifteen hundred*—which is nearly twice as great as the daily circulation of any other paper in the city." Subscriptions were then being received at the *Pennant* office and at the office of the French vice-consul, J. P. Miltenberger, Esq., No. 30 Chestnut Street.

Very soon after this the first issue must have appeared, for a controversy over editorial statements began to flare in the columns of the *Daily Pennant*. On Saturday evening, the twenty-second of August, at 8 P.M., Eugene Jaccard and his uncle, Louis Jaccard, were assaulted by robbers on the street. Two or three days later apparently *Le Pennant* discussed this assault editorially and commented on the state of society that permitted such acts. A letter signed "P. D." on August 26, reproved the editor for his attitude toward the state of civilization in Saint Louis, and the following day "A Subscriber" replied. The critical one thereupon sent another letter to the *Daily Pennant* on the twenty-eighth and this time signed his name, Dutertre.¹⁴ His only object, we find, was "to vindicate American honor and love of justice, from the very erroneous insinuations of the French editor." Among other ideas that he found "obnoxious" in Cortambert's statement, Dutertre quoted the editor of *Le Pennant* as having said: "When-

¹⁴ An advertisement (dated August 17) in the *Daily Pennant* for August 29, 1840, described him as "M. Dutertre, a Frenchman by birth and a graduate of the University of France . . . continues giving instruction in the French language . . . inquire at M. Miltenberger's, No. 30 Chesnut street." Dutertre also published some translations in the *Daily Pennant*. On August 21 the editor of the *Pennant* mentioned that he was taking lessons from Dutertre.

ever a commonwealth governs itself, each individual has his share of responsibility; the public itself is blameable for the crimes which are not prevented by an established order (*l'ordre établi*) or reached by penal sanction." This to Dutertre was an astonishing point of view.

The editor and the letter-writer continued to hold opposite points of view. An article in *Le Pennant* of September 14, entitled "What Is America," drew a wrathful answer from Dutertre in the *Daily Commercial Bulletin* on the seventeenth. The latter said politely that this article, inspired by "works, written by English and French tourists during their six months travels through this vast continent," was "well written," but he scornfully translated a portion of the editor's words: "Europe is on the decline; in a few centuries, her energies will be paralysed by the effeminacy of the East. Her inheritance will fall to the share of America, who will then have an existence of her own and govern the world." This, said Dutertre, was nonsense; it was absurd to say that Europe was on the decline and equally so to say that the United States must wait for centuries before it would lead the world. But perhaps we can get a clearer idea of Cortambert's from an article by G. G. Foster entitled "The Future Destinies of America—our National Characteristics" in the *Daily Pennant* of September 26.¹⁵

It will not have been forgotten that M. Cortambert, the editor of the French side of the *Pennant*, and "Dutertre," a correspondent of the *Bulletin*, have recently had a controversy upon the subject of the future destiny of America. We need scarcely say here, that, although we agree with the general tone of M. Cortambert's articles, and have the highest respect for his talents and his opinions, we do not consider ourselves responsible for the peculiar doctrines which he may think proper to advance. "*Le Pennant*" is emphatically an Anglo-French paper, and has been confided to a gentleman who knows and understands the feelings of the French portion of our population, and in whose judgment and patriotism

¹⁵ G. G. Foster, who had been one of the "principal editorial contributors" of the *Daily Pennant*, became the editor on April 18, 1840. Between 1848 and 1854 he published a number of books in New York; and apparently for a time at least he was on the staff of the *New York Tribune*.

we have the highest confidence. It is but natural to suppose that, in a city like St. Louis, where the French trace their blood back to the very origin of civilization, and where their language and manners still mingle so extensively with every interest in the community, they should watch with a feeling near akin to jealousy, the rapid encroachments of the descendants of the English, and should feel a wish to engraft upon the republican prosperity of their adopted country the language and manners of that whence they sprung. It is this feeling—and it is a commendable one—which leads M. Cortambert to repudiate the idea that America is to receive the final stamp of a national character and a national language, from the descendant of the Saxon, and that the Frenchman, with all his elegance of manner and refinement of feeling, is reluctant to admit that the language and customs of his ancestors are to become merged completely in the sweeping civil conquest which the descendants of the uncouth Anglo-Saxon are now making over the whole earth.

There are surely prejudices which are almost commendable—as they spring from high and noble feelings—and this we regard as one of them; yet, we cannot for a moment doubt that the reasoning predicated upon them is utterly fallacious. To our view, it is one amongst the most certain of events, that, not only the United States, but the whole North American continent, will gradually yet speedily become one vast field for the exercise of those indomitable energies which, bursting from the mountains of northern Asia, overwhelmed the plains of Egypt, established themselves in the mountains of Europe, overran Rome, and finally, in the little island of Great Britain, established, as it were, the *heart* of the world. We believe no one—at least no one who has taken the trouble to make himself acquainted with the sentiments in regard to England which we have so frequently and so strongly expressed, will accuse us of *servility*. Our only design is to speak *truth*; and, in admitting that America—social, political, religious and literary—is but the full-grown man whose birth and infancy belong to England, we are acknowledging nothing but a self-evident fact.—Whence sprung religious toleration? From England and the powerful protection of Henry VIII; where originated the beautiful system of a representative government? the sacred right of a trial by jury? the philosophy of common law? the science of jurisprudence and the defence by the government of the general good? These questions need not be answered; and, although in England, laboring as she has ever done under the curse of a titled aristocracy and a hereditary nobility, the immutable principles of human liberty have often struggled with the most fearful obstacles, yet where, save in colonies planted by herself, have they ever been developed? Is it in France, where the wild and reckless fury of maddened desperation, bursting for a moment the bonds of slavery, deluged that fair land in blood—startled the whole earth to view the convulsive agonies of a nation of madmen—and then sank back exhausted into its chains again? Is it in Spain, and her former colonies, (now *republics* for-

sooth!) in South America, where revolution merely heralds rapine and robbery? Is it in Greece — sad wreck of fallen greatness! No! in the United States alone — the only real republic on the face of the earth — have the great principles of civil and political liberty been practically applied to the happiness and well-being of mankind. — In this nation — the direct offspring of the Old Saxon race — Freedom *acts*, calmly and consistently, while elsewhere she makes, occasionally, a few convulsive starts, and dies. Texas follows our footsteps, and, ere another century has fled away, will present the same moral and political phenomena.

While all of England that is worth preservation — her literature, her common law, her jurisprudence, and her immense system of commerce and manufactures — have been perpetuated amongst us, we have in other respects surpassed our model; and in a universal system of education — in the extension of the elective franchise, and the diffusion of knowledge by means of an enlightened and untrammelled Press — America, like the young giant borne upon the shoulders of his sire, has pointed out to England and to Europe the way which they are fain to follow. We want no revolution in our institutions — and, above all, no *change of language*. What! make the language of Shakspeare and Milton a dead and forgotten tongue? Leave the sublime doctrines of Franklin and Jefferson to be delved at by the solitary student, as something unknown to all? The idea is preposterous. M. Cortambert's concluding antithesis — "America is *now* nothing — she *will be* everything" — however brilliant and sonorous, has no application to our actual condition. We *are* already the greatest and most enlightened nation on the globe — we *will be* what the wildest dreams of the philosopher have never pictured.

The history of *Le Pennant* must be closed here for want of data. Neither the *Daily Pennant* nor Dutertre mention its opinions again.¹⁶

IV

The next venture of record was a monthly called the *Revue Française*, which, the editors of the *Weekly Reveille* thought, on November 11, 1844, "promises fairly to make its way among all French readers in the country." It was a "pleasant *melange* of literary and news matter," we are told; apparently editorial policy

¹⁶ The last issue of the *Daily Pennant* in the *Missouri Historical Society* file is for October 19, 1840. In it there is nothing to indicate that the French edition had then been discontinued. Advertisements in French were still being carried. The Library of Congress has one further issue for November 3, 1840; Foster was still editor, but no mention was made in it of the French edition. For information concerning this issue I am indebted to H. S. Parsons, Chief of the Periodical Division of the Library of Congress.

was summed up in its motto "instruire et amuser." Except for this one comment I find nothing about the *Revue*.¹⁷

Six years passed before the eighth attempt was noticed in the general press. The *Missouri Republican* on March 6, 1850, announced the establishment of *Le Courrier de St. Louis*; it was to be published and edited by E. Farrenc, who was said to have had similar experience in New Orleans. The first number of this semi-weekly appeared on the ninth of July, "handsomely printed."¹⁸

The probability is that *Le Courrier de St. Louis* did not continue long in existence, for in February of the next year appeared the prospectus of a new journal, *Le Moniteur de L'Ouest*.¹⁹ According to the *Missouri Republican* of February 15, 1851, the editor, E. De Laue Maryat, set "forth in a long address the principles upon which the new journal will be conducted." The *Republican* welcomed the newcomer because "there cannot be too much reading for the people, and newspapers are the most popular, and we believe, the most useful, form in which it can be laid before them." Much seemed expected of the editor for "he is not a novice in the profession which he has chosen, having had very considerable

¹⁷ Its office was at 25 South Main Street. This is possibly the publication to which DeMenil referred as the first of French newspapers in Saint Louis: "At some time in the early part of the forties—probably in 1844—a small-sized weekly paper, printed in French, was issued somewhat irregularly during a few months." Op. cit., II, 836.

¹⁸ *St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 6, 1850; *Missouri Republican*, July 10, 1850; *Weekly Reveille* (July 15, 1850), p. 4279. None of these papers, however, give anything more than a very brief editorial welcome or carry more than a very simple advertisement. The name of the printer is given in the last two sources as Charles François Blatta; J. Thomas Scharf (*History of Saint Louis, City and County* [2 vols., Philadelphia, 1883], I, 958) also prints his name in this form. DeMenil, however, gave it as Blattau—which seems to be a printer's error (op. cit., II, 836). The editor's name is clearly E. Farrenc in the three contemporary notices; but in Scharf it is Ferrene; and in DeMenil, Ferrence. In the *St. Louis Directory for 1854* Charles Blatta was listed as a notary public.

¹⁹ This seems to be the paper DeMenil said (op. cit., II, 836) was begun in April, 1856, by E. Delane Maryat who had been "connected with the French press of New Orleans in the early fifties." The error in his account can be traced to Scharf, op. cit., I, 958; DeMenil's information for the earliest papers he listed seems to be drawn almost entirely from Scharf. Certainly, in the file of the *Missouri Republican* for April, 1856, no mention of the *Moniteur* can be found.

experience as editor of the French side of the journals in New Orleans.”²⁰ The *Moniteur* made its first appearance not on the fifteenth of March as originally announced but on April 1. The *Republican* the next day declared this introductory issue “an interesting one, filled with literary, political, and news matter, each in wholesome proportion. The mechanical execution is neat and tasty. Our French population have needed such a journal for many years—the enterprising proprietor has a fair field before him.” Two months later Rozier of Ste. Genevieve became one of the proprietors and Saint Louisans were informed that beginning July 1 the paper would be issued tri-weekly in French and English—it was to be considerably enlarged and the price reduced.²¹ The last word of this publication was one of despair. One month of publication convinced Rozier (who now seemed to be the sole proprietor) that the “experiment of publishing a French and English journal, in this city, has failed for want of adequate support.”²²

V

In spite of the recent failures of the *Courrier de Saint Louis* and the *Moniteur de l'Ouest* and the discouraged opinion of Rozier, a new group of Saint Louisans undertook one more venture.²³ The

²⁰ Edward Larocque Tinker in his “Bibliography of French Newspapers in Louisiana,” *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, XLII, 309–10, gives this man’s name as de Lauc-Maryat and says tht he was the second editor of *L’Orleanais*, a daily that flourished in New Orleans from 1847 to 1858.

²¹ *Missouri Republican*, June 7, 1851.

²² *Missouri Republican*, July 29, 1851. Rozier returned to Ste. Genevieve to publish there the *Plain Dealer*.

²³ Other French journals published in Saint Louis during the nineteenth century were:

La Revue Icarienne, of which the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, has a copy of the issue for October 15, 1858 (*Union List of Newspapers*).

Le Courier de St. Louis (1866), weekly; L. Philipon, publisher, lived only a few months (DeMenil, op. cit., II, 836).

Le Tribune Française, of which the first issue appeared October 22, 1866. DeMenil’s note on this paper (op. cit., II, 836) is both informative and prejudiced in tone: “Published by a society of which G. Morhard [who had been associated with the *Revue de l’Ouest*] seems to have been the head. This society, in its fierce democracy,

Société Littéraire de St. Louis obtained a charter from the Legislature, collected sufficient funds to cover the costs of publication for two years, and brought out on Saturday the seventh of January, 1854, the first number of the *Revue de l'Ouest*.²⁴

had no president, secretary or other officers, as implied authority was aristocratic. The 'Tribune' paid more attention than any of its predecessors to local and American politics. It sought to be a recognized power in the local Republican party, but beyond obtaining a small share of the 'political printing' of the day for itself, it accomplished nothing in the interests of the French colony (so-called) of St. Louis. It really spoke only for the socialistic and red-Republican element, and its circulation was very limited. It suspended early in the seventies."

La Journal Catholique, 1875 (Alexandre Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américain* [Worcester, 1911], p. 384).

La République, first number September 9, 1876, weekly, H. Beaugrand, editor, last number January 6, 1877. Beaugrand emigrated to Canada, served as Mayor of Montreal and in 1899 was on the editorial staff of a French daily in that city. (DeMenil, op. cit., II, 837.) Belisle (op. cit., 22, 340 ff.) gives Honoré Beaugrand's birth as 1849 and death 1906; he saw military service in Mexico, travelled in Europe, practiced journalism in Louisiana and New England, and in 1879 founded *La Patrie* in Montreal.

Le Patriote. Scharf (op. cit., I, 953) described this as a weekly paper, "organ of the French-American people of the Western States," established in October, 1877, by L. C. Lavat, and a year and a half later bought by L. Seguenot and E. Boudinet, the former of whom was editor. "It is a political, literary, scientific, and commercial journal, and is the only French paper in Missouri." DeMenil's account (op. cit., II, 837) differs somewhat: he gave the first editor as Ireneus D. Foulon, the printer as Louis C. Lavat; Dr. Chartier ("Karl Melite") became editor in the winter of 1879 and "the paper at once grew radical in its opinions;" in the spring of 1880 it passed to Seguenot and Boudinet and "soon became known as a conservative, moderate journal that appealed to the educated and thoughtful classes of French readers;" the burning of Lavat's printing house caused its suspension in June, 1881. But DeMenil was wrong in implying that it ceased publication, for in the *Union List of Newspapers* the following issues are noted as extant; May 28, 1885-1886 at the Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City; 1878, and 1886-1887 at the Saint Louis Public Library; the *Union List* gives *Le Patriote* as the founding title, but lists it as *Le Patriote et le Phare des lacs*. DeMenil informs us that Louis Seguenot was born in Burgundy, France, in 1833, studied law in Paris, emigrated to the United States in 1865, taught French in Saint Louis, and was consular agent for France there from 1888 on. Belisle (op. cit., 384) erroneously states that Saguenat [*sic*] founded this paper in 1878.

Le Journal Français de St. Louis, A. de Vervins, editor and proprietor. Weekly, first issue March 22, 1893, only seven numbers. "Independent politically, advocated religious freedom, and was more French than American in its sympathies," said DeMenil (op. cit., II, 837). Vervins was the author of a novel entitled *Le Charlatan*.

²⁴ The principal source of information concerning the *Revue de l'Ouest* is the file of that paper at the Mercantile Library of Saint Louis—the file, unfortunately, is limited to the first 23 numbers running from 7 Janvier to 10 Juin 1854. The office and printing shop were on the southwest corner of 2nd and Market Streets. Subscription for this weekly, published on Saturdays, was \$2.50 the year; the single copy, 5 cents.

G. F. C. Morhard was editor-in-chief. The first issue contained the usual mixture of opinion, news, clippings, and advertisement. Half the front page was given over to a prospectus, and the object of publication appeared far from dangerous: "C'est de réunir autant que possible, dans une même communion d'idées, de sentiments, de souvenirs, d'intérêts, les Français dispersés dans l'Ouest, si loin du sol natal." The second article of the day, by Louis Cortambert (over the initials "L. C."), concerned with the "Mission de la Presse," voiced sentiments that need disturb no one: "Voilà un pouvoir qui date d'hier et qui déjà gouverne le monde. . . sa mission définitive . . . est d'inaugurer pour le genre humain l'ère de la paix et de l'harmonie."²⁵

During its first year, at least, the paper was issued as a small folio of eight pages of three columns each. DeMenil (Hyde and Conard, op. cit., II, 836) said that it was later issued in four pages of six columns.

The officers of the Société Littéraire were L. R. Cortambert, president; Th. Gantier, vice-president; Ed. Haren, secretary; Nicolas-DeMenil, treasurer; and Dominique Stock. Of the first I have already spoken. Theodore Gantier, according to the *St. Louis Directory for 1854-55*, had a clothing store at 76 S. Main Street. Edward Haren was listed as a notary public at 38 S. Fourth. Nicolas DeMenil was born in Foug, Meurthe-et-Moselle, France, October 7, 1812. He came to America in 1834 and two years later married at Saint Louis Emilie Sophie, the second daughter of Col. A. P. Chouteau. According to his advertisement in the *Missouri Republican*, April 15, 1837, he was a graduate of the "French Academy of Medicine;" in Saint Louis he engaged principally in the drug business (Consult Hyde and Conard, op. cit., I, 552-553). Dominique Stock, No. 40, Main Street, "Marchand d'Epicerie, en gros et en détail," advertised in the first number of the *Revue* that he had "toujours en magasin un assortiment de Liquers fines et communes, Vin rouge et blanc, &c., Brandy, Whisky, en gros et en detail."

²⁵ The contributions of Cortambert to the first twenty-three numbers of the *Revue* were:

"Mission de la Presse," signed "L. C.," I, No. 1 (7 janvier 1854), 1-2.

"Politique Américaine," signed "L. C.," I, No. 2 (14 janvier 1854), 1-2.

"Les Lectures," signed "L. C.," I, No. 3 (21 janvier 1854), 1-2.

Report of part of Louis Cortambert's remarks on the French press in America, made at the annual dinner of the Société Française de Bienfaisance on 23 janvier. I, No. 4 (28 janvier 1854), 1-2.

"Le Canadien aux Etats-Unis," signed "L. C.," under "Varietes," I, No. 4 (28 janvier 1854), 2-3. Reprinted from *La Ruche Littéraire* (Montreal, Canada); "Correspondance — St. Louis, 12 Decembre 1853."

"Le Nebraska," signed "L. C.," I, No. 5 (5 fevrier 1854), 1.

"L'Ideologie," signed "L. C.," I, No. 5 (5 fevrier 1854), 1-2.

"Un Changement." Louis Cortambert announced as editor, replacing Morhard. Leading articles are now assumed to be Cortambert's. I, No. 6 (11 fevrier 1854), 1.

Account of Economy, Pennsylvania. Not signed, but the text, except for amputa-

Other articles in this opening number represented a variety of interests: sanitation in Saint Louis, "renseignements utiles—particulièrement à l'usage des habitants de la campagne," an article on Russia under the general head of "Variétés," a sketch by Ch. Ribeyrolles entitled "Episodes de la Transportation de Décembre—Alger," a Paris letter dated 2 Decembre (1853) signed L. R., some paragraphs of "nouvelles d'orient," "depeches telegraphiques," and other bits of local, national, and foreign news, followed by some five columns of advertising. The most interesting contribution, however, in the entire paper was the feuilleton: "Coup d'oeil sur le Haut-Missouri; voyage de St. Louis aux Montagnes Rocheuses," which ran through two more issues. This account of a trip made in the service of P. Chouteau and Company in 1852 and 1853 was signed only "X."

tions at beginning and end, is the same as that published under the title of "Colonie d'Economy et secte des Harmonistes. Extrait d'une lettre de M. Louis Cortambert," *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Tome Deuxième (avril, 1842), 65-74. I., No. 6 (11 février 1854), 1-2.

"Liberté de la Pensée," I, No. 7 (18 février 1854), 1.

"Les Françaises et la République," I, No. 8 (25 février 1854), 1.

"La Guerre et la Politique," I, No. 9 (4 mars 1854), 1.

"L'Humanité ou la République universelle," signed "L. C.," I, No. 9 (4 mars 1854), 1-2.

"Le République rouge," I, No. 10 (11 mars 1854), 1.

"Question philosophique," continuation of L. C.'s controversy with *Le Républicain*, I, No. 10 (11 mars 1854), 3.

"M. de Lamennais et le Shepherd of the Valley," I, No. 11 (18 mars 1854), 1.

"La Question d'Orient en Amérique," I, No. 12 (25 mars 1854), 1.

"Elections municipales," I, No. 13 (1 avril 1854), 1.

"Lamennais," continuation of the dispute with the *Shepherd*, I, No. 13 (1 avril 1854), 1-2.

"La Loi du Maine," I, No. 4 (8 avril 1854), 1.

"Philosophie nouvelle," I, No. 15 (15 avril 1854), 1.

"La Democratie Française en Amérique," I, No. 15 (22 avril 1854), 1.

"La Democratie Allemande en Amérique," I, No. 17 (29 avril 1854), 1-2.

"L'Inquisition à St. Louis," a further statement in the controversy over Lamennais with the *Shepherd*, I, No. 18 (6 mai 1854), 1.

"M. de Girardin," I, No. 19 (13 mai 1854), 1-2.

"L'Homelie du Shepherd," I, No. 20 (20 mai 1854), 1.

"Le Parti Conservateur," I, No. 21 (27 mai 1854), 1.

"La France et la Revolution, I," I, No. 22 (3 juin 1854), 1.

"La France et la Revolution, II," I, No. 23 (10 juin 1854), 1. The series begun in Nos. 22 and 23 apparently continued for several weeks; I believe that it was reprinted in book form but have not yet seen a copy of it.

The paper continued for the next several weeks to print the same sort of features (several of them continued) and domestic and foreign news. Cortambert's article in the second number was concerned with the "Politique Américaine" and declared that "il est difficile de dire quelles sont les questions dont se préoccupe en ce moment l'opinion publique aux Etats-Unis. . . ." On January 21 Cortambert reviewed lectures by Lucy Stone, Brownson, and Finney. A week later a report was published of the annual dinner of the Société Française de Bienfaisance. A number of those present spoke but the *Revue* used most of its space in quoting part of Cortambert's remarks on the French press in America; the press, he declared, "c'est la locomotive de la pensée, sur le *railroad* de la liberté." Here, too, was reprinted an article by Cortambert entitled "Le Canadien aux Etats-Unis," contributed originally to *La Ruche Littéraire* of Montreal. In the fifth number Cortambert filled all the important space. He contributed an article on "Nebraska" and a second one entitled "L'Idéologie." In the latter he seemed to be warming up, for he declared that ". . . pour l'écrivain qui ne résigne pas au simple rôle de chroniqueur, pour tout homme qui croit à la puissance de la pensée l'idéologie est le premier besoin de l'esprit."

With No. 6, on February 11, Louis Cortambert replaced Morhard as editor. Perhaps some of the disagreement behind this change is indicated by the long article entitled "Un Changement" which outlined two points of view toward journalism, the second of which was obviously that of Cortambert.

. . . Il y a deux manières d'entendre le perfectionnement du journalisme et les devoirs de la presse périodique. L'une est de recueillir le plus grand nombre de faits et de les lancer le plus rapidement à la curiosité publique. L'autre consiste à faire le choix le plus judicieux, et à ne présenter au lecteur que les choses d'un intérêt réel. La première veut transporter dans le domaine de la pensée les merveilles accomplies par le vapeur dans le champ de l'industrie et du commerce: pour elle, l'idée et le fait sont une marchandise dont il faut le plus possible activer la circulation; c'est un fret, c'est un butin, c'est une cargaison, qui doit arriver à point nommé de toute distance, et s'étaler chaque matin aux regards, dans les

colonnes du journal.— La seconde s'occupe moins des faits eux-mêmes que de leur signification; elle cherche dans le chaos des événements l'idée, la véritable idée, dont la trace lumineuse indique seule l'histoire du monde. . . . L'une représentée par la presse anglo-américaine, et l'autre par la presse française. . . . Il serait très injuste de dire que le choix judicieux et la saine critique sont exclusivement les attributs de l'esprit français, ou que la grande spéculation est la privilège de la race anglo-saxonne; mais enfin les deux tendances existent, quoique moins distinctes en réalité que je ne les ai montré en théorie. . . . Elle [la *Revue*] manifeste seulement le désir de s'inspirer du véritable esprit français, de travailler pour sa part à en étendre l'influence sur le Nouveau Monde de rallier, s'il est possible, les membres de la grande famille française [] dans l'Ouest, et de s'avancer avec eux sur la voie du progrès social.

From this time on the *Revue* was firm in its social views and vigorous in their presentation. The quarrel that now arose between it and another paper was not the mere sharp back-chat common to rival editors. On the part of the Frenchman it was the typical bold support in a conservative society of an intellectual point of view essentially radical—true liberty of thought. Such a concept, such a fight would bring neither popularity nor wealth, but it was in pursuit of this idea that Cortambert had turned to the press and it was this idea that guided all his editorial expression.²⁶

²⁶ DeMenil (Hyde and Conard, op. cit., II, 836) declared that at first the *Revue* was conservative in tone, politically independent, and broadly Christian; but that "a diversity of opinion on religious and political questions leading to acrimonious debates among the stockholders, the paper was sold to G. Morhard and J. Wolff in December, 1854, L. R. Cortambert remaining as editor. In accordance with the views of its new proprietors, the 'Revue' at once became red-Republican and anti-Catholic; it proclaimed the doctrines of the Abolition party, and took up the cudgel in defense of spiritualism and socialism. As the masses of the French and Franco-American people of the Mississippi Valley were Democrats and Catholics, and resided in slave states, the 'Revue' declined rapidly in circulation and advertising patronage during the second year of its publication. Nevertheless it continued being printed until 1864."

Since there is no file available, I cannot say what took place in December, 1854, but I am inclined to think that DeMenil has partly confused the editorial change of February 11 with some later change in ownership. Certainly Morhard's leading articles in the first issues of the paper were harmless enough, but Cortambert's contributions can hardly be looked upon as conservative even though they were for him mild. Furthermore, as I shall presently show, the Catholic newspaper during this spring of 1854 looked upon the *Revue* far from favorably. The defense of spiritualism begins, too, in this first half year. DeMenil is probably inaccurate also in stating

Early in 1854 the widely talked-of Lamennais had died, refusing the last sacraments and asking to be buried without religious ceremony. He became the subject of editorial comment by the *Shepherd of the Valley*, the Catholic weekly of Saint Louis, and was defended by Cortambert in an article in the *Revue* for March 18, 1854. The dispute grew warm, for on April 1 Cortambert published another editorial on Lamennais and the *Shepherd*. Cortambert provided his rival with additional ammunition two weeks later when he published an account of "la nouvelle philosophie spiritualiste ou harmonienne," for as the editor of the *Revue* interpreted it that philosophy was the antithesis of Catholicism. The main point made in the analysis of these ideas was that

Affranchir la raison de toute autorité traditionnelle, chercher en elle et par elle seule les titres de noblesse de l'Humanité, dépouiller la notion de Dieu de tout attribut mythologique, expliquer toutes choses par les lois éternelles de la création, en écartant toute intervention spéciale ou miraculeuse du principe suprême, enfin et par-dessus tout montrer le développement spirituel de l'homme comme l'objet final et la couronnement de l'oeuvre universelle, voila, si je ne me trompe, les traits caractéristiques du nouveau système. Il y a là une telle largeur de vues, une telle liberté d'allures, qu'on peut à peine donner le nom de système à cet ensemble d'idées et d'aspirations. C'est moins une philosophie nouvelle que le résumé hardi des tendances de l'esprit moderne, la déclaration de l'indépendance de la raison.

that the circulation of the *Revue* fell off greatly as a result of its new policies, for Edwards (*The Great West*, p. 166) in 1860 said of it: "This ably edited journal is well known amid the educated portion of the French inhabitants of the city, and likewise among those American families, of whom there is a great number, that are familiar with the French language. It was established in 1854, and has now a circulation of 2,500. It is a weekly sheet, and Mr. Louis Cortambert, a gentleman of fine literary attainments, is its accomplished editor." A newspaper with a circulation of two thousand in those days was considered quite successful. At this time J. Wolf was the proprietor.

²⁷ The *Shepherd of the Valley*, a weekly published on Saturdays, was founded in October, 1850. In September, 1851, Robert A. Bakewell became editor and in the following January bought out the former proprietors. It suspended publication June 10, 1854. For the opportunity to examine the file I am indebted to Father Henry H. Regnet, S.J., Librarian of Saint Louis University.

Bakewell, the editor of the *Shepherd*, on April 29 made a furious attack upon Cortambert and the *Revue* in the personal and vicious manner characteristic of nineteenth-century journalism. He called the *Revue* a small sheet ("the epithet in this connection is literally and metaphorically true") and objected to its considering itself the organ of the French population in Saint Louis. He demonstrated laboriously that many of these French were equally familiar with the English language and the others "are so divided on the great religious and political questions of the day that it is hopeless to attempt to please even a majority of them by adopting any decided and consistent course." He continued: "Amongst the French of St. Louis are to be found the most fervent Catholics and the most bitter enemies of the Catholic Religion, and all intermediate shades between these extremes, to say nothing of Legitimists, Orleanists, Imperialists, moderate Republicans, Ultra Republicans and out and out Reds. A journal intended to please all these, must be a journal worth reading for the fun of the thing, and so is the *Revue de l'Ouest*." Having disposed of the editorial point of view of that paper, the *Shepherd* commented that the "new Editor is apparently endeavoring of late to define his position; this is rather a delicate task. . . . If the worthy Editor would at least try to walk a little before he flies, come down from the clouds, and content himself with the regions of common sense, he would stand a better chance of being understood, but that perhaps is just the thing he desires to avoid."

Thus far the editor of the *Shepherd* had contented himself with gentle reproof and condescending analysis, but he was merely warming up. "There are some things, however, that we can affirm in regard to the *Revue de l'Ouest*;—that it is the servile imitator of the shameless *Republican* of New York; that it exhorts Frenchmen in America to form an association apart, not to mix themselves up with the affairs of this country, and to preserve as Frenchmen a distinct and independent existence; that it loses no opportunity to sneer at the sacred truths of the Catholic Re-

ligion; and that it is the open and avowed advocate of the new 'Harmonial Philosophy.' " The first of these charges cannot now be answered for lack of comparable data. The second, based apparently on several of Cortambert's editorials, is not true. The third, and for the *Shepherd* the most painful, was largely true, for Cortambert was certainly not a Catholic. The fourth charge, based on the editorial from which I have earlier quoted, is entirely unfair, for that article was merely an analysis of a movement, not a statement of the editor's personal ideas—that he looked upon the "harmonial philosophy" with some approval is obvious, but he made no personal statement. The *Shepherd*, however, declared that

For these things we do not like the *Revue de l'Ouest*. As an American we oppose all those who endeavor to retard that fusion of all nationalities into one American nationality, which is so essential to the peace and prosperity of the country; as a Christian we are disgusted at the constant repetition of the old blasphemies of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, and as a rational being we are revolted at the open advocacy of anile superstition in this age which boasts itself the nineteenth.

We protest, however, against the Editor of the *Revue de l'Ouest* continuing to speak in the name of the Franco-American population. The social and political schemes of which he is so ardent a propagandist are so heartily despised by the large proportion of his compatriots as are the rapping spirits from whom he gets what he substitutes for Religion; and we would be loath to believe that the efforts of himself and his New York model to lead any portion of the inhabitants of this country to suppose that they have interests and duties, as such, distinct from that of the mass of their fellow citizens, meet with approbation from any considerable number of those of French origin in the United States.

To this attack Cortambert replied in the *Revue* on May 6 and provoked in turn one more response from the *Shepherd* the following week. The very long editorial called "More Philosophism" was given over mostly to diatribe. "Our little French contemporary," Bakewell wrote, "is in a furious rage with us. He begins a long editorial specially devoted to our journal, and headed 'L'Inquisition a St. Louis' . . . his remarks of last week are somewhat wanting in originality and some of them are wholly wanting in truth." He then made answer to Cortambert

on the question of liberty and threw in many contemptuous remarks about rapping spirits (in none of his editorials is there a single issue clearly defined—all are in the form of deliberate personal attack). Concerning Voltaire and the free-thinkers the editor declared "Writers today may have his malice but lack his wit, the old objections and sneers of the Encyclopedists are long since answered and worn out, and no wits have arisen in our times to invent those that are to take their place . . . the old persifleur [Voltaire] would blush for his clumsy disciples." To this the *Revue* replied on the twentieth. After that I find no further word of controversy, but Cortambert and the "little French contemporary" had the effective last word, for, ironically enough, the *Shepherd* suspended June 10 for lack of support whereas the *Revue* continued for ten years longer.

Although this sort of controversy occupied the attention of newspaper editors and filled much of their columns from time to time, the reaction of the orthodox to Cortambert was more bitter than usual. The *Shepherd*, as a Catholic paper, was conservative in politics as in religion. Cortambert was a radical—a freethinker in every respect, a disciple of "reason," a philosopher who found the libertarian philosophy of eighteenth-century France sound and was determined to carry it on. All this becomes more and more apparent as we follow his career. The most interesting and probably the most valuable articles that he contributed to the *Revue* during its first year were the series begun on June 3 under the heading "La France et la Révolution," in which his thesis was "Si nous demandons le mot qui résume le mieux l'histoire et le génie de la France, tout le monde répondra: Révolution." Most of this essay is concerned with Abelard and Descartes. In the second part a week later he declared

C'est la France qui entreprend l'oeuvre de l'émancipation intellectuelle. . . . c'est Descartes qui est le grand révolutionnaire des temps modernes. . . . dans Descartes nous voyons la victoire de la raison individuelle. . . . Descartes met de côté l'Eglise, le pape, et la bible, l'autorité d'Aristote comme celle de la théologie;

il descend tranquillement au fond de la pensée et déclare qu'il ne croira que ce qu'il comprendra clairement. Toute révolution est là. En combattant pour la liberté, n'oublions jamais à qui le monde moderne doit l'indépendance de la pensée. Nous avons reconnu dans Abailard l'étoile du matin; nous devons saluer dans le génie de Descartes le soleil levant de la révolution.

Unfortunately the only available file of the *Revue* is exhausted with this twenty-third number and the development of the thesis is lost.

The *Revue* now, despite the opinion of the late *Shepherd*, was firmly established, but its history cannot be followed for lack of a file. Louis Cortambert was still editor of it in 1860. It was presumably the French newspaper that Edward Dicey found in Saint Louis in 1862, for it continued in existence at least until September, 1865.²⁸ Just when Cortambert ceased to be editor and left Saint Louis I have not been able to determine, but certainly he demonstrated that a French journal could be published successfully in Saint Louis and that the journal could be the vehicle of intelligent and vigorous thought.

²⁸ "Eight or nine daily newspapers (three of them, by the way German, and one French) are hawked about the streets"—Edward Dicey, *Six Months in the Federal States*, 2 vols., London, 1863, II, 98. Dicey is mistaken in calling all the papers dailies. Scharf, II, 1613, in a list of "writers for the press" included "Cortambert, Louis. *Revue de l'Ouest*, 1854-65." The Fraser Institute of Montreal has a file of the *Revue* for 1862-September, 1865, which I have not yet been able to examine—Cortambert went for a short time, I believe, to Montreal before he settled down at New York.

CAXTON'S "HISTORY OF JASON"

By CURT F. BÜHLER

SINCE the beginning of the eighteenth century, the earliest English books have been subjected to the most painstaking and minute examinations. More than two centuries have passed since the publication of the first book about William Caxton and since then scarcely a decade may be found which has not contributed some study concerned with the work of the first English printer. Despite the intensive criticism, scattered over three centuries, to which his life and work have been subjected, new facts about Caxton's press still come to light.

Some years ago, it was forcibly brought home to the present writer that it was dangerous to attempt to edit a critical edition of any of Caxton's printed books without consulting as many copies as possible—preferably all of them. Since then the writer has become more convinced than ever that Caxton's texts should be edited in the same way that middle English manuscript texts are prepared, and that an edition drawn from but one copy of any early English book was likely to prove itself inadequate. A case in point here is Caxton's edition of the *History of Jason*, printed at Westminster probably in 1477.

If the reader were to compare the descriptions of this book given by Blades and Duff,¹ the standard bibliographies, with the actual copies found in New York, Vienna and Manchester, he would be suddenly and forcibly struck by the fact that there are numerous differences between the bibliographical descriptions

¹ William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1861-1863, No. 9; E. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* [London]: Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monograph No. xviii, 1917, No. 245.

and the books themselves. In order to illustrate this point thoroughly, Caxton's prologue is here printed from the copy of the *History of Jason* found in The Pierpont Morgan Library, with variant readings from other copies or from bibliographical works given as footnotes. For the sake of convenience, the following abbreviations are used:

COPIES

- V — Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Inc. II. D. 30
 N — New York Public Library
 R — Manchester, John Rylands Library, No. 15391
 L — London, British Museum, C. 10. b. 3
 P — New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML. 672

REFERENCE WORKS

- B — Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1861-63, vol. I, 138-41.
 M — John Munro, *The History of Jason*, London: Early English Text Society, Extra Series No. cxi, 1913.
 D — Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* [London]: Bibliographical Society, 1917.
 C — W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, London: Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 176, 1928.

Caxton's prologue to the *History of Jason* begins on folio 2 recto (the first leaf being a blank) and ends on folio 3 recto. The text reads:

- (f) Or asmoche as late by the comaūdemēt of the right || hye & noble princesse my right redoubted lady / My || lady Margarete by the grace of god Duchesse of Bour-||goyne Brabant &c. I translated aboke out of frenssh in || to Engliſsh named Recuyel of the histories of Troye / in || whiche is comprehended how
 5 Troye was thries destroyed || And also the labours & histories of Saturnus. Tytan. || Jubyter Perseus and Hercules / & other moo therin Re-||hersed. but as to the historie of Jason / towchyng the con-||queste of the golden fleſe / myn auctor hath not sett it in his || boke. but breuely and the cause is for asmoche as he hadde || made before aboke of the hoole lyf of Jason. whyche he pre-||sented
 10 vnto the noble Prynce in his dayes Philipp Duc || of bourgoyne / And also the sayde boke shulde haue ben to || grete. if he had sett the saide historie in his boke. for it con-||teyneth thre bokes beside thistorie of Jason. Theñe for as || moche as this sayd boke is late newe made aparte of alle || thistories of

- the sayd Jason & the historie of him whiche || that Dares Frigius & Guido de
 15 columpnys wrote in the || begynnyng of their bokes / touchyng the conqueste of
 the || sayd golden flese. by occasion wherof grewe the cause of the || seconde
 destruccion of the sayd cite of Troye. is not sett in || the sayd boke of
 Recuyel of thistories of Troye / Therfore || vnder the proteccion & suffraunce
 of the most hyghe puis-||sant & x̄pen kyng. my most dradde naturel liege Lord ||
 20 Edward by the grace of god kyng of englond and of || Fraunce and lord of Irland/
 I entende to translate the || sayd boke of thistories of Jason. folowyng myn
 auctor || as nygh as I can or may not chaungyng the sentence. ne || [fol. 2b]
 presumyng to adde ne mynusshe any thing otherwyse than || myne auctor hath
 made in Frensshe / And in somoche as || the grettest fame & renomme standeth &
 25 resteth in the con-||quest of the flese of gold / where of is founded an ordre
 of || knightes. wherof oure sayd souerayne lord is one & hath || taken the
 profession therof / howe well some persones affer-||me and saye that the sayd
 ordre hath taken his orygynall || of the flese of Gedeon. where in I will not
 dispute. But || well wote I that the noble Duc Philippe firste foundeur || of
 30 this sayd ordre / dyd doo maken a chambre in the Cas-||tell of Hesdyn / where
 in was craftyly and curiously de-||peynted the conqueste of the golden flese
 by the sayd Ja-||son / In whiche chambre I haue ben and seen the sayde his-||torie
 so depeynted. & in remēbrañce of medea & of her con-||nyng & science. he had do
 make in the sayde chambre by subtil || engyn. that whan he wolde it shuld seme
 35 that it lightend & || after thondre / snowe & rayne. And all withm the sayde ||
 chambre as ofte tymes & whan it shuld please him. which || was al made for his
 singuler pleasir. Theñe for the honour || & worship of our sayd moost redoubted
 liege lorde whiche || hath taken the sayde ordre / I haue vnder the shadowe of
 his || noble p̄teccion enterprised taccompliss this sayd lital boke. || not
 40 p̄sumyng to p̄sente it vnto his highnesse. for asmoch || as I doubte not his good
 grace hath it in frensh / which he || wel vnderstandeth. but not displesing his
 most noble grace || I entende by his licence & congye & by the supportacōn of
 our || most redoubted liege lady / most excellent princesse the Que-||ne to
 presente this sayde boke vnto the most fayr. and my || moost redoubted yong
 45 lorde. My lord Prynce of Wales || [fol. 3a] our tocomyng souayne lorde. whom
 I praye god saue and || encrease in vertue & bryng him vnto asmoche worship
 and || goode Renōme as euer had ony of his noble progenytours || To thentent /
 he may begynne to lerne rede Englissh. not || for ony beaute or good Endyting
 of our englissh tonge || that is therin. but for the nouelte of the histories
 50 whiche || as I suppose hath not be had bifore the translacion herof || Moost
 humblie besekyng my sayd most drad souerayn & || naturel liege lorde the kyng
 and also the Quene to p̄don || me so presumyng. And my sayd tocomyng souerayne
 || lord / My lord the Prynce to receyue it in gree & thanke || of me his humble
 subgiett & seruauēte. and to pardone me || of this my simple and Rude transla-
 55 cion / and all other || that luste to rede or here it / to correcte where as
 they shalle || finde defaulte || Here endeth the prologue of the translatur ||

3 frensshe LBMDC 4 / in] in LBMDC 5 Saturnus.] Saturnus LBMDC
 6 Tytan.] Tytan / LBMDC Re-] Re LBC (M *does not indicate line endings*)
 8 it] *omitted* LBMDC 10 Philippe LBMDC 16 whereof C 17 troye C
 18 Therefor LBMDC 23 otherwise then NR 24 Frenssh NR Renome NR
 25 con-||queste NR golde NR wherof NR 26 our NR souerayn NR
 27 sayde NR 28 origynall NR fleese NR woll NR 29 but NR
 30 sayde NR did NR make NR 31 curyously NR 32 In] in LBMDC
 sayd hys- NR 33 remembraüte NR 34 sayd NR engyn.] engyn LBMDC
 35 after] then LBMDC and NR with in NR; BC *read* within 36 shulde
 plese him / whiche NR 37 sayde NR 38 lord NR 39 said NR
 40 hyghnessh NR doubt NR 41 frenssh / whiche NR 43 moost NR
 excellent C que-||ne NR 45 *first* lorde] lord NR 47 good C

Even the merest glance at the variants quickly reveals these three groups: PV, NR and LBMDC. Consequently it is readily apparent that the Morgan and Vienna copies agree with each other but differ from the rest; the same is true of the Rylands and New York Public Library copies, while the British Museum copy seems to be unique. In addition we may note that *all* the reference books depend on the British Museum copy and completely ignore the readings in the other copies here noted.

Ignoring for the moment the L group, it may be seen from the variants that though the four other copies are identical in respect of the texts printed on folios 2 and 3 recto, that on folio 2 verso shows marked variations.² These are so numerous that it is clear that there are two distinct groups of copies here. Obviously we are dealing with variant settings of type.

The second folio, of course, forms part of the second sheet in the quire; the outer forme here comprises a2 recto—a7 verso, while the inner has a2 verso—a7 recto. Turning now to the texts of the conjugate folio, an examination of this leaf shows that the text on the verso of the seventh leaf is identical in all copies, while the recto has the following variants:

² Differences in punctuation between the group NR and PV are not noted, though in the case of the L group these have been retained for reasons that will be made clear later.

- and knightes ladies & damoiselles ete in the halle. and || after the dyner the tables taken vp / the ladies & Damoy-||selles moüted vpon the scaffoldes. And on that other side || the knightes arayed hem in armes & moüted on their hor-||ses / & drew hem vnto a place ppice for the ioustes. & whan || the king
 5 of thebes had gyuen to his sone hercules the ordre || of knighthode. theñe one & other couched goode speres cora-||geously & began to iuste in suche wise that many were born || doun to the erth / & specially al they that encoütrid hercules || (t)He noise began right grete in this place / and there || was grete nombre of speeres broken & goode sheldes || persed. Hercules dide there grete
 10 & hye prowesses / And in || like wise mayntened him Jason. for they mette with noo || knightes in recoütryng what they were but that they bare || hem out of their arsoñs. and at this tyme the worthy her-||cules began to loue Jason of so parfayte loue that fro theñe || forthon he named him his broder. and helde him for the || most adressid kmght in armes that he had seen in his ti-||me.
 15 In this Journeye hercules & Jason assaied eche other || many times in the ioustes & otherwise / and neũ bare that || one that other to the erth / wherof all they that sawe it had || grete meruaille / for as moche as Hercules was more in || membres & hygher than Jason was / but Jason was so wel || on horseback that no man mighte vnhorse him / The ladies || and Damoiselles behelde
 20 gladly Jason for his hye vayl-||liañces / and preysed and honoured him aboue all other || And so dide all other beholding his noble faytes Reser-||uid peleus. whiche seeyng that Jason was so moche recom-||mended of euery man / Deliberid and concluded. that by ||

2 ladies] ladies NML 3 side] *possibly* fide P hem] them NML 7 born NML 11 with noo] wyth no NML recoütring NML were] where NML
 12 And NML time NML 13 parfayt NML 14 moost NML knight NML
 15 Journey NML asayed NML 18 then Jason NML horse back NML
 19 nomañ might NML damoiselles NML 21 beholdmg NL
 22 somoche NML 23 deliberid NML

Here we have very nearly the same groups as before: PV and NR.³ It is particularly noteworthy that, in this case, the British Museum copy is identical with the New York Public Library one, while on folio 2 verso, as we have seen, it had none of the variant readings peculiar to NR. Again it is clear that there are two different settings of type. Thus the four copies (PVNR) all have the identical text for the outer forme of the second sheet, while

³ As the result of present day conditions in Europe, it is impossible for me to confirm every reading of the Rylands copy here, but the statement here made, based on the rough notes made some years ago, is probably correct.

on the inner forme the text shows two variant settings: PV and NR.

Before turning to the readings in the British Museum copy and the reference works dependent on it, it may be best to attempt an explanation for the variant settings in the four other copies. As we may see from the variant readings, neither issue is an improvement over the other; it seems clear therefore that the text was *not* reset in order to correct errors or misprints. Only two possible explanations suggest themselves to me. The first is that the type for these pages had become so disturbed, through the fault or clumsiness of the printer, that it was not possible to print from it any longer and the pages for the inner forme thus had to be reset. The second explanation is that some sheets were not perfected at the same time as the rest and that this slip was not noticed until after the type for these pages had been distributed;⁴ in order to complete the pages, the printer was forced to reset the pages and thus the "second" issue came into being. This conclusion is rendered the more likely by the fact that some bibliographers consider the *History of Jason* to be the earliest folio printed in England and this mistake may thus be attributed to the printer's inexperience.

The readings in L and its dependents are not, of course, completely accounted for by this explanation but a glance at Seymour de Ricci's⁵ notation on this copy will set this problem at rest. He says:

Nearly perf. (wanting blank) but some ff. mended and part of f. 2 in facs., ff. 2-3 and 7-9 inlaid.

⁴ Mistakes of this sort are not uncommon in fifteenth-century books. In the copy of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* (in French) printed by Antoine Vêrard in Paris, now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, signatures RRR1 verso-RRR8 recto were left unprinted, another example of an unperfected sheet.

⁵ *A Census of Caxtons*, [Oxford], Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monograph No. xv, 1909, p. 73. So Blades (vol. II, p. 34) says of this copy: "*Not quite perfect*, several leaves at the beginning having been mended, and the 8th partially supplied in facsimile by Whittaker." The British Museum catalogue of English books to 1640, London, 1884, II, 869, adds the note: "Seven leaves at the beginning and one at the end of this copy have been repaired in fac-simile ms. by Mr. Whitaker."

With the variant readings in mind, it becomes self-evident that on folio 2 verso the British Museum copy originally agreed with PV, not with NR, and that the readings peculiar to L, and consequently to the reference works depending on it, are no more than the result of faulty repair work and mending. On folio 7 recto, none of which appears to be in facsimile, L is identical with NR and not with PV.

The fact that the British Museum copy in one case agrees with the variant NR, and in another case with PV, is accounted for, I believe, by the fact that folio 2 in this copy is inlaid. It seems likely therefore that folio 2 is not the *original* conjugate leaf of the existing folio 7 but was supplied from some copy of the variant setting.

The restorations in the British Museum copy have apparently also led the bibliographies into minor faults when printing the epilogue. The New York, Manchester and Vienna copies here agree throughout, but the British Museum copy again differs. The text is printed from the Morgan copy, with variant readings given as footnotes:

- (a)Nd howe be it that myn auctor writeth that he hath || foude nomore of
thistorie of Jason / yet haue I fouden || & red in the boke that bochace
made of the genelagie of god-||des in his .xiiij. boke / that whan so was
5 that Jason & medea || were reconciled agayn to geder after that shee fled
from ege-||on that he went with her into colchos agam / & whan he was ||
comen theder. he foude the olde king oetes fader vnto medea || bañissed &
exiled out of his royaume / whom he restored & sette || him by his valiañce
& puissaũce in his kingdom agayn / & || after went into asie / where he
had victorie in many batailes || And made so many conquestes with grete
10 magnificence || in somoche that he was honoured & worshipped for a god /
& || were made & edefied diũce temples in his name which af-||ter were
destroied by the comãdement of king Alexander || of macedone / who pauen-
ture had enuye of his glorie / & also || he saith that thoant & eune^o where
his sones / whom he begate || on ysiphile as he went to colchos ward as
15 Stacius saith || Whiche were borñ at ones. And for asmoche as it was || not
the custome in leños to fede & norisshe the men children. || they were
sent into an other coũtreie for to be nourysshed || [fol. 149 verso]
wherfore the moder was put out of her Royaume. & taken || with pirates &

theues. & after sold vnto Lygurgis king || of nemece. and after whan the
²⁰ sayde sones waxe men they || went with king Adrast^o vnto the bataile of
 Thebes / & as || they went in the wode of nemece they herde of the sayd
 king || Adrast^o reherse her burth & the caas of her moder / by which ||
 rehersayll they knew that she was their moder / & in kyng || Lygurgis
 court they fonde her / whenne Opheltes his sone || was foude dede in the
²⁵ gardyn / what time the lady that hadde || charge of him went with the
 grekes to shew him the water || as in the siege of thebes it is more
 plainly shewd / but what || cam afterward of these two sones it is incertayn
 this saith || bochace in the .xij. boke of the geneolagye of goddes. And ||
 he saith he had an other sone whos name was philemelus / || and more haue
³⁰ I not red of the noble Jason / but this haue || I founden more theñ myn auc-
 tor reherceth in his boke / & ther||fore I make here an ende of this storie
 of Jason. whom di-||uice meñ blame because that he left & repudied Medea /
 but || in this present boke ye may see the euydent causes / why he || so dyd.
 Prayng my said lorde Prince taccepte & take yt || in gree of me his indigne
³⁵ seruiteur. whom I beseche god || almighty to saue & encrece in vertu now in
 his tendre iongth || that he may come vnto his parfait eage to his honour
 and || worship that his Renome maye perpetuelly be remembrid || among the
 most worthy. And after this present life eu-||lasting life in heuen who
 grant him & vs that boughte vs || with his bloode blessing Jhus Amen ||

3	genalogie B	5	again B	8	puissaūte LBC	12	comādmēt LBMC
13	glorie & LBMC	14	sones whom LBMC	ward]	where LBMC		
15	asmoch LBMC	16	lenos LBMC	children.]	children LBMC		
17	coñtrey LBMC	18	wherefore C	pirates and C	21 in] into C		
38	lastinglife LBDC	39	&vs LB	blessyd LBMD			

While the minor mistakes in Crotch and Blades may be readily forgiven as mere slips of the eye, the fact that so many bibliographers were content to describe one of Caxton's most important publications from a "restored" copy rather than consulting genuine and perfect copies must be viewed rather more seriously. The present paper besides noting the variant issues has, it is hoped, accurately rendered the text as printed by Caxton—and not as restored by Whittaker.

A NOTE ON TISSOT'S "ADVICE TO THE PEOPLE." LONDON, 1767

By JOHN ELIOT ALDEN¹

TISSOT, SAMUEL AUGUSTE ANDRÉ DAVID. *Advice to the People in General with Regard to their Health.* 2 v. London [i.e. Boston, Mein and Fleeming] 1767.

Title-page: Advice | to the | People in General, | with regard to their | Health: | But particularly calculated for those, who | are the most unlikely to be provided in | Time with the best Assistance, in acute | Diseases, or upon any inward or outward | Accident. | with | A Table of the most cheap, yet effectual | Remedies, and the plainest Directions for | preparing them readily. | Translated from the French Edition of | Dr. Tissot's *Avis au Peuple*, &c. | Printed at Lyons; with all the Notes in the first | English Edition, and a very few additional ones. | By J. Kirkpatrick, M.D. | To which is added, | The Art of Preserving Health: | Containing the most important Rules recommend- | ed by Physicians and Philosophers for the Preser- | vation of Health in the several Periods and Cir- | cumstances of Life; together with the Reasons | on which these Rules are founded. | By J. Mackenzie, M.D. | [rule] | [two-line quotation from] *Prov.* xiv. 28 | [rule] | Volume I. | [rule] | London: Printed in Year MDCCLXVII.

Collation: 12mo in half sheets. Vol. I: A-Z⁸, Aa⁸, Bb⁴; xxiv + 265 + [vi] p. Vol. II: [A]³, B-Y⁶, Z¹; 1 p.l. + 254 p. 13.5 (14.4) x 7.5 cm.

Copies: Amherst College Library; Boston Athenaeum; Bowdoin College Library.

In his discussion of the relation of David Mitchelson to the history of early American type-founding, Dr. Lawrence Wroth cites a two-volume edition of Tissot's *Advice to the People with Regard to their Health* printed in London in 1767 as an example of a type identical with that used by Mitchelson's employers, the Boston firm of Mein and Fleeming. It appears, however, that he was

¹ This brief report forms part of a larger study of the life and activities of John Mein undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Verner W. Crane, of the University of Michigan.

led into an unfortunate error in accepting the imprint at its face value.²

Whether or not Mitchelson did cast type I am not yet prepared to say. The point at issue here is, rather, the actual nature of the volumes of Tissot which Dr. Wroth invokes, in passing, as evidence against a Mitchelson claim of priority over Abel Buell of Connecticut. It is my belief that the work in question was not printed in London, but, to the contrary, was published in Boston by Mein and Fleeming themselves.

We have, to begin with, the statement of Isaiah Thomas that John Mein, finding that works printed in England sold better in Boston than those from domestic presses, issued books bearing false London imprints.³ Knowing this we may further consider the possibility that this work by Tissot may be among them.

It is to be noted that Evans, in his *American Bibliography*, lists no edition of Tissot earlier than one which appeared in Philadelphia in 1771. Yet how are we to account for an advertisement in the *Boston Chronicle* for October 2, 1769, in which the *Advice to the People* is listed for sale by Mein as "printed in America"—and therefore acceptable for purchase by non-importing Boston patriots? In addition, in the catalogue of pre-revolutionary publications appended to the second volume of the 1874 edition of Thomas's *History of Printing*, Tissot's work is listed as having been reprinted in Boston in the year 1767.⁴ Although Samuel Haven, Jr., prepared this catalogue for publication, it is of course based on Thomas's own manuscript lists in the American Antiquarian Society. And in the original source Thomas indicates the names of publishers—in this case, none other than Mein and Fleeming.

We may, to be sure, examine the possibility that the two volumes were actually published in London in 1767 as stated on the

² L. C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, Portland, Maine, 1938, pp. 313-14.

³ Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, Albany, 1874, I, 151.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 591.

title-page. As it happens, the British Museum Catalogue lists a number of editions. The first English translation of the *Avis au Peuple* appeared in 1765, in octavo. The second edition, with an appendix, likewise in octavo, followed it the next year. The third edition, also in octavo, was published in 1768. There was a duodecimo edition printed in Edinburgh in 1766 as well. But there is no London edition of 1767, and the numerical sequence of editions remains unbroken in 1768. Of course, there is a chance that our 1767 London edition was pirated. But against this hypothesis we can oppose the plausibility if not the proof of Boston publication. It may not be without significance that of the three recorded copies of this edition all are found in New England.

Mein's advertisements for his London book store in King Street reveal that he was particularly interested in selling Tissot's book. Contemporary newspapers permit us to trace the publicity campaign with which this work was launched on the Boston market. In the *Massachusetts Gazette* for July 17, 1767, the work is advertised without mention of supplementary chapters by Mackenzie. But, beginning on October 8 that same year, in a full-page advertisement of Mein's book shop, two columns are devoted to this single title, in several successive issues of the paper. And this edition includes Mackenzie's *History of Health*. The apparent conclusion is that here is a new edition—an edition published by Mein whereas the earlier was the London or perhaps the Edinburgh edition now reprinted. Mein had already advertised the *History of Health* as a separate title in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of March 27, 1766.

The pages of the *Boston Chronicle*—the newspaper begun in December, 1767, by Mein and Fleeming—tell a similar story. On April 25, 1768, an extract from the *Advice to the People* was printed as if submitted by a subscriber under the caption "The inserting the following from Dr. Tissot, I apprehend will serve the . . . design . . . of benefitting mankind." Mankind—and John Mein! On May 2 the work was described as "just imported," a

phrase by practice quite meaningless. Three weeks later there is a full-page advertisement similar to that in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of the previous October. What better explanation for so much advertising can there be than that Mein and his partner had reprinted the work?

The two volumes themselves, as seen in the Bowdoin College copy, confirm Dr. Wroth's statement that the type face is that used in the *Boston Chronicle*. A comparison of them with the edition of Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer* which bears the Mein and Fleeming imprint shows the use of certain identical types, although the text of the *Letters* is set in a different font, presumably from the Wilson foundry in Glasgow. More important is the fact that the paper upon which both are printed bears the watermark of Lubertus van Gerrevink and Jean Villedary.⁵ From time to time the *Boston Chronicle* was also printed on this paper.

That Mein chose to reprint this work by Tissot is not at all surprising. The *Avis au Peuple* had achieved a tremendous popularity throughout Europe immediately upon publication. After appearing first at Lausanne in 1761 it rapidly went through many editions, and was translated into at least ten languages. According to one biographer, this was the first time that medicine had been treated in a style at once popular and intelligent.⁶

For these reasons, then, I believe there can be little doubt that the London edition of 1767 to which Dr. Wroth has referred was actually published in Boston by Mein and Fleeming in that year. But if we have been able to uncover this one false imprint, may we not go further and identify others?

To do so is apparently possible, for Mein's advertisements, along with Isaiah Thomas's manuscript list of pre-revolutionary publications, provide very definite clues regarding the books published by Mein and his partner. It has already been possible to

⁵ W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, Amsterdam, 1935, fig. 434.

⁶ *Biographie Universelle* (Michaud), Nouv. éd., XLI, 593: "Tissot, Simon-André."

locate several previously unrecognized. In addition, what were more than likely the first American editions of the *Vicar of Wakefield* and the *Sentimental Journey* seem to have been among the works printed over a London imprint, the former presumably bearing the date 1767, the latter 1768. However, whether or not others carried a genuine Boston imprint and have simply disappeared is a problem still to be solved.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR., FREDERICK E. GOFF, GERALD D. McDONALD, HOWARD S. MOTT, DAVID A. RANDALL, E. MILLICENT SOWERBY, LEWIS M. STARK AND EDWIN W. WILLOUGHBY.

ACCURSIUS, FRANCISCUS (1225-1293). *Casus in terminis super Codice*. [Strassburg: Printer of "Vitas Patrum," about 1485.] f°.

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Vol. I, no. 188. *Hain* 69*.

The Harvard Law Library copy of this edition differs from the *Gesamtkatalog* description, *i.e.*:

F. 2a (*Sign. a²*), *line* 5: [] Va | tuor par | tes ha- | b3 hec cō | stitutio. | In pri- | ma dicit | impator | q3 nemo | vsq3 ad | tempora | sua fuit ausus ex tribus codici- | bus. et alijs |

— ROBERT B. ANDERSON

FIORETI DELLA BIBBIA HISTORIATI IN LINGUA FIORENTINA. Venice, Matteo Capcasa, for Lucantonio Giunta, 6 July 1494. 4°.

70 leaves. Sig. a-h⁸, i⁶. 39 lines. Type 7:81 R, init. d, 60 wdcts.

1a, title: FIORETI DELLA BIBBIA HISTORIATI | IN LINGVA FIORENTINA. | 1b: blank.
2a, with sig. a ii, wdct border at top and left Fioretto della bibbia con certe predicationi tutto tractato del testamē- | to uechio cominciando dalla creatione del mondo ifino alla natiuita di | chrifto ridocto in lingua fiorentina. | Capitolo. primo. | (woodcut¹²) (A⁵) Q VEL | LI SER- | ui di iefu | Chrifto | falute fia | pace & ellegreza da co | lui: . . . | leaf b: Come idio creo tutte le chofe di nuouo. Capitolo. xxi. | 70a, line 34: FINIS. | Qui finifce illibro chiamato fioretto no- | uello del testamento uechio & nuouo. Stā | pato ī Venecia per Mattheo di co de cha | da parma ad infantia de Lucantonio de | zonta fiorentino. | NEL.M.CCCC. LXXXXIIII. ADI.VI | DI LVIO.LAVS DEO. | (at right, Giunta's device (black): Kristeller 215).
70b: blank.

The Robert Hoe copy, with his ex-libris and monogram, bound in brown levant morocco, by Bedford. *Hoe Catalogue* (1907) 1:186. Purchased from Paul Gottschalk (his catalogue 7:61) by CSMH in December, 1923. The copy is probably unique. *Cf. Essling*, no. 159 for a 1493 edition of the same work.

Mead, H. R., *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 2872.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

HORAE AD USUM ROMANUM. [Paris] Philippe Pigouchet, for Enguillbert, Jean, and Geofroy de Marnef [about 1489] 8°.

92 leaves. Sig.: a-1⁸, m⁴. 25 lines. Type: 1:98 | 99G. Woodcuts. Printed on vellum.

1a: [Marnef's dev., Polain 135] | Ad vfum Romane curie. | 1b: Almanach p^{ro}o viginti annis. [1489-1508] 2a, with sig. a.ii.: Sequiter refiduum dicti almanach. | 2b: [anatomical man], col. 1: Quāt la lūe eft en can | cer / fco pio / et pifces: . . . 3a, with sig. a.iii.: Januari⁹ habet dies .xxxi. | , calendar ends 8b, line 22: Sit tepidus frigori cōtrarie totus. | [a Latin quatrain at end of each month] 9a, with sig. b.i.: [woodcut, Martyrdom of St. Jean] | Initiū sancti euāgelii: fcd'm Jo | hannem. Gloria tibi dñe. | [2]N principio erat verbum: ⁊ verbum erat | apud deum. . . 11b, line 22: Passio domini nostri iesu chrī= | fti: fcd'm Johannem. | 16b: [woodcut, Tree of Jesse] | Ad honorem intemerate fan= | ctissimeq3 dei genitricis vir= | ginis marie / hōie ad vfū Ro= | manū incipiūt feliciter. | 17a, with sig. c.i.: [woodcut, Annunciation] | [2] Omne labia mea ape= | ries . . . d.i.: Indut⁹ est dñs sō titudinē ⁊ p̄cinxit se [] teniz | 33a, with sig. e.i., ends: Ad tertiam. | 35a, with sig. e.iii.: [woodcut, Adoration of the Magi] | [2] Eus in adiutorū. Hymn⁹ | [] emēto. ā. īn odorē. p̄s. | 36a, with sig. e.iii., ends: . . . Ad nonam. | 56b: [woodcut, 'Les Trois Vifs'] | Incipiūt vigilie mortuorum. | Ad vesp̄eras añ. Placebo. p̄s. | 89a, with sig. m.i., line 24: Sequit officiū de p̄ceptiōe btē marie virginis. | 91b, line 23: . . . apud te fiducia= | liter intercedet. Per dominum nostrum. | Finis. | 92a, blank; 92b: [Pigouchet's dev. II].

Each page within a woodcut border. 20 large woodcuts, all except the anatomical man are illuminated in gold and colors; 33 small woodcuts, and the borders except on pages with illuminated woodcuts, are uncolored; paragraph marks and supplied initials are in gold and colors.

The copy, apparently undescribed, is bound in brown stamped leather over wooden boards, with two metal clasps. Purchased by CSMH in March, 1925. Mead, H. R., *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4611.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

JACOBUS DE VORAGINE (c. 1230-c. 1298). *Legenda aurea* [German:] *Passional oder Leben der Heiligen, Sommerteil*. Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger, 23 Aug. 1487. f°.

F. 322a, col. 1: uam sant lazari auff vnd begrū= | beu in mit / grosser wirdigkeit vñ | mit lobgesang.do thet got gros= | se zaichē durch in / Nun helf vnþ | sant lazarus vmb got erwerben | das wir auch kōmen zū den ewi= | gen freüden. | ¶ Von sant J^h2gen | [Woodcut].

579b, col.1. [Colophon:] ¶ Hie endet sich der heyligen | leben das Summerteyl das hat | getruckt vnnd volendet Hanns | schönsperger zū Augspurg am | freytag nach sant Mangen tag | Nach cristi geburt.M.cccc.vnd | in dem.lxxxvii.jare.

Part II: 252 leaves, numbered: cccxxii blat-ccccclxxxix blat (folios cccxxvii-ccccxxix; cccccxxiv-ccccxxv; and cccccclxxiii, wanting). 2 columns, 322^a: 42 lines,

210x130mm. Type: 96, text. Woodcuts, colored by hand. The headlines on the versos give the names of the saints.

262x193mm. Leaves trimmed, mounted on guards; margins stained, torn and repaired; fol. 442, one column torn off. A few marginal notes. Modern binding, half morocco, lettered: Legends of the saints.

Part one of this edition is apparently described by number 101 in the *Catalogue of the John Boyd Thacher Collection of Incunabula*, compiled by Frederick W. Ashley (Washington, 1915). There are 312 leaves in the Thacher copy (*numbered*: [i-ii], iii-cccxi) although Mr. Ashley suggests that there are two blank leaves missing at the end, making the total 314. If this is true, then it appears that the part two described here from a copy in the PP lacks also eight preliminary leaves.

— HELEN D. SUBERS

JUVENALIS, GUIDO (ca. 1460–1505). In latinae linguae Elegantis interpretatio. Paris, Jean Tréperel, 20 February, 1497. 4°.

144 leaves: [1], ii.-cxxxvii, [7]. Sig.: A-C^s, D⁶, E-G^s, H⁶, I-L^s, M⁶, N-P^s, Q⁶, R-T^s. 40 lines. Type 4: 77G, M49. Dev. (Polain. *Marques*. 167).

1a (red) large init. G Vdonis iuue | (black) nalis patria Cenomani ī latine ligue | elegātiās tam a Laurētio Valla quā | a gelio memorie pditas īterpretatio dilucida thematis | creberrime adhibitis nouiter emēdata imp̃ffaq̃ feliciter | incipit | (*de vice*, red) 1b: ¶ Guido iuuenalis famulus officioffimus morēq̃ gerēdi cupid-iffi | m⁹ hūmillima falute . . . | lodeuēfē guill'm briconnetū . . . | 2a, with sig. A.ii and numb. ii.: ¶ Guido iuuenalis famulus indignus venerandiffimo dño suo An= | tonio de Croy Terrauene . . . | . . . falutem dicit. | 2b, line 9: ¶ Johānes Egidius nucerienfis lectorem alloquit | (12 distichs) 3a, with sig. A.iii and numb. iii. ¶ Guido iuuenalis Johāni paruo flgeriēfi Johāni egidio campano | . . . Salutē | plurimam dicit. | line 33: . . . Valetē | ¶ Johannis Egidii nucerienfis | carmen ad guidonem iuuenalem | 3b: (15 distichs), line 31: ¶ Ad henricum du vergier | (5 distichs) 4a, with sig. A.iiii and numb. iii.: ¶ Guido iuuenalis. Carolo fernādo . . . | . . . Salutem plurimam dicit. | 4b, line 16: ¶ Guido iuuenalis Nicolao de Capella cum natalibus tum litteris | bonis luculentiffimo S.P.D. | 5b, line 9 (text): De nomībus terminatis in ofus. | (i³) N ofus exeūctia noīa partim a noīe descendūt . . . (ends) 134b, line 29: petunt vadunt solida vi. | ¶ Deo gratias īmortales agere non defiffimus | 135a, numb. cxxxv.: ¶ Guido Juuenalis Nicola peletario Johanni q̃ bellēgario viris | cū dotrina tū virtute fpectatiffimis. S.P.D. | (and 4 other section headings) 137a, numb. cxxxvii, line 32: ¶ Guido Juuenalis genere cenomanus. hoc tantulo epigrāmate li | bellum fuum ducit aloquendum | (5 distichs) 137b, line 4: ¶ Huc iuuenes accedite gratos fufcepturi codices oīfq̃ mende | line 13: . . . Et fic eft finis | Expicit tractatus Guidonis iuuenalis. Impreffus pariffius per | Johānem treperel commorātem fupra pōtem ad īterfignū diui lau | rentii et fuit cōpletus. Anno domini millefimo quadragefimo nona | gefimofeptimo die vero vicesima menfis. Februarii. (table in 2 col.) 138a, with sig. T.ii, col.1: A | (d²) E aīcedēte folio xvi | (ends) 143b, col.2, line 32: Verba neuiana cxxxiii | Finis tabule | 144: blank?, lacking.

Mead, H. R., *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4618.

The Christie Miller copy, his sale, July 31, 1917, no. 622; bound in red levant morocco, by Trautz-Bauzonnet.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

GALENUS CLAUDIUS (Fl. 160 A.D.). Galeni | comitali | Puero consili-
um bisariam de | græco in latinū coñersum. | Eiusdem libellus de paruæ |
pilæ exercitio. | Gregorij Nazanzeni Theologi | oratio in apparitionem,
sive | natalitia Saluatoris. | Interprete Excellenti artium, | & medicinæ
doctore Va | lerio Centannio | Vicentino.

Colophon: Impræssum Venetiis per Aurelium | Pintium Venetum. Anno do- |
mini. M.D.XXXIII. | Mense Octo- | bris.

Woodcut title border, with initial F. at left, and D. at right. First Latin edition of Galen's *Exercise of the small Ball*. Unrecorded. Copy in Racquet and Tennis Club, New York City.

— ROBERT W. HENDERSON

English Books, 1475-1800

BEAUMONT, FRANCIS (1584-1616) AND FLETCHER, JOHN (1579-1625). *A King and no King*. Acted at the Globe, by his Maiesties Seruants: Written by Francis Beaumont and Iohn Flecher. London, for Thomas Walkley, 1619.

STC 1670.

The names of the authors are spelled *Beaumont* and *Flecher* as above. According to the *Clawson Catalogue*, 1924, the spelling on the title of the Kemble-Devonshire copy is *Beamount* and *Fletcher*.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

C. I. *A Pleasant Comedie, Called The Two Merry Milke-Maids. Or, The Best Words weare the Garland . . .* London, Printed by Bernard Alsop, for Lawrence Chapman . . . 1620.

4to. A² B-P in fours.

STC. 4281. There are two issues which can be distinguished as follows:

a) C₃ recto. A stage direction reading: Callowe stro- | king vp his | haire,
comple= | ments with Fa- | ces and Legges. |

F₄ recto. Line 15. Do'st thou Burgeon?

Line 32. The Duchesse of Saxonie

b) C₃ recto. No stage direction

F₄ recto. Line 15 Do'st thou Bugeou?

Line 32. The Duchesse of —————

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

HIERON, SAMUEL (? 1576-1617). *A Helpe vnto Deuotion . . .* The fifth Edition. At London, Printed by H. L[ownes] for Samuel Macham, 1613.

12mo. A-V 12 in twelves.

This edition is not in the *STC*, which lists the Sixth edition of the same year (13408, B.M. copy only).

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

TAYLOR, JOHN, THE WATER POET (1580-1653). *A Verry Merry Wherry-Ferry-Voyage . . .* Whereunto is annexed a very pleasant Description of that famous man, OToole the Great. London. Printed by Edw: All-de, for Henry Gosson. 1623.

This edition was omitted from the *STC* which has only the 1622 edition of the *Verry Merry Wherry-Voyage*, and the original separate edition of the O Toole, 1622.

See *STC* 23812 and 23762.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

WALBANCKE, MATTHEW (? 1596-? 1667). *Editor*. *Annalia Dvbrensia*. Vpon the yeerely celebration of Mr. Robert Dovers Olimpick Games vpon Cotswold-Hills . . . London, Printed by Robert Raworth, for Mathewe Walbancke. 1636.

4to. There are two issues of the title-page of this book. The first is as given in the Grolier Club *Contributions to English Bibliography*. *Wither to Prior I*, p. 242. In this issue the name of Francis Izod is omitted from the list of authors, and A Siriux Oxon., is so spelt.

In the second issue the name *Francis Izod*. *Gent.* occurs after that of *Owen Feltham*, and *A Siriux* is corrected to *A Sirinx Oxon.*

STC 24954.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

Americana

BACKUS, AZEL (1765-1817). *Absalom's conspiracy: A Sermon*, Preached at the General Election, at Hartford in the State of Connecticut, May 10th, 1798 . . . *Suffield, printed by H. & O. Farnsworth*, 1798. 8vo, pp. 47, (1).

Unrecorded. Copy in MWA.

— ALBERT C. BATES

GREAT BRITAIN. Parliament. Anno Regni | Georgii II. | Regis | Magnæ, Britanniaë, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, | Vicesimo Quarto. | At the Parliament

begun and holden at Westminster, | the Tenth Day of November, Anno Dom. 1747, | in the Twenty first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace | of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, | King, Defender of the Faith, &c. | And from thence continued by several Prorogations to the Seventeenth Day of January, 1750, being the Fourth Session of this | present Parliament. | (Royal Arms) | London: | Printed by Thomas Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, | 1751. | New-London: | Re-printed by Timothy Green, Printer to the Governour and Company | of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut in New-England, | 1752. | fol, pp. (16). [A], B-H².

Unrecorded. A_{2r} begins: Anno vicesimo quarto | Georgii II. Regis. | An Act for Regulating the commencement of | the Year; and for Correcting the Calendar | now in Use. | Cr reads: The new | Calendar, Tables, | and | Rules, | Mentioned, and referred to, in the | Act | for | Regulating the Commencement of the Year; and for | Correcting the Calendar now in Use. |

The General Assembly of Connecticut ordered payment for the printing of this act in October, 1752. The edition was eighty-six copies. A copy is in my possession.

— ALBERT C. BATES

A Memorial Containing A Summary View of Facts, with their Authorities, In Answer to the Observations sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe. Translated from the French. *Philadelphia: Printed by James Chittin, 1757.*

In regard to this Philadelphia edition, both *Sabin* and *Hildeburn* are wrong in calling for a half title. I have before me two copies: one is in the original binding, and has two preliminary blank leaves before the title and one blank leaf at the end, all of the same water-marked paper as that on which the text is printed. As further proof that these preliminary blanks are genuine, this copy formerly belonged to Michael Hillegas, Philadelphia merchant who became first Treasurer of the United States. His name, with the date "1759," is written on the title, and the ink from this has offset and soaked through the preceding blanks.

The other copy, a large one and entirely uncut, is rebound in full morocco of the latter half of the nineteenth century, with marble end papers, gilt tops and with a half title as noted by *Sabin* 47512. While printed on old paper, it is obvious from the type itself that this half title was printed much later than the main part of the book.

The original title gives no clue to the contents of the book. What probably happened was that in later years a remainder in sheets was discovered and bound, and a half title printed giving details of the contents, as follows: Memorial and Papers concerning the Expedition to the Ohio, containing General Braddock's

Register, Journal of Major Washington, M. de Villiers, etc. See *Sabin* 47512 & *Hildeburn* 1537.

— LATHROP C. HARPER

Modern Literature

EDWARDS, HARRY STILLWELL (1854-1938). *Eneas Africanus* | By | Harry Stillwell Edwards | Copyrighted [Macon, Georgia, 1919].

Pagination: Title page [p. 1]; preface [p. 2]; text, pp. [3]-38; blank [pp. 39-40].

Binding: Bound in drab-brown (resembling in color ordinary wrapping paper) wrappers of heavy paper (or light, very light, board), wire-stapled through the center at pp. 20-21. The front cover is imprinted: *Eneas Africanus* | By | Harry Stillwell Edwards [the initials in *Eneas Africanus* in red-orange, the balance in black] At the lower right corner of the back cover appears: The J. W. Burke Company | Printers | Macon, Georgia. Inner covers unprinted.

All edges trimmed. Size of leaf $6\frac{3}{8}$ ins. x $4\frac{7}{8}$ ins. The covers are slightly larger at the edges, being a wallet or bible cover . . . take your choice.

The story was first published in the Macon, Ga., *Evening News*, in 1919. A copy of the book as collated above was received at DLC December 12, 1919.

The first printing may be distinguished from later printings by the following points:

<i>1st</i>	<i>Reprint</i>
The title, on the title page, measures slightly less than two inches in width.	Measures slightly less than three inches.
[pp. 39-40] completely blank	[p. 39] has publisher's list; p. 40 imprint.
1st page of text ends: . . . Tommey's	Ends: . . . command,
There are other textual variations	
Still later printings are distinguishable	

— JACOB BLANCK

HAGGARD, SIR RIDER (1856-1925). *King Solomon's Mines*. London, 1885.

Mr. Coykendall's description of *King Solomon's Mines* says that in the middle of page 10, "Bomamgwato" is printed instead of the correct spelling "Bomangwato." I have a copy of the third printing which he states has all the wrong spellings corrected. My copy, however, spells it "Bamangwato."

— MORRIS L. PARRISH

In the note on "King Solomon's Mines" printed in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society* there is a typographical error. The word noted on page 10

should be spelled Bamangwato not Bomangwato. In the first printing the fifth letter is *m* instead of *n*, making the wrong spelling "Bamamgwato."

— FREDERICK COYKENDALL

See *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 34, No. 1, p. 90.

[HOUSMAN, A. E. (1859-1936).] *Odes from the Greek Dramatists*. London, 1890.

In *Bibliographical Notes and Queries* (vol. II, nos. 4-5, p. 10), Mr. H. B. Collamore writes that Alfred W. Pollard's edition of *Odes from the Greek Dramatists*, London: David Stott, 1890, contains the "first and only printing in book form of three poems by A. E. Housman."

Although the *Collected Poems of A. E. Housman*, London: Cape, 1939; New York: Henry Holt, 1940, which includes the three poems, has been published since Mr. Collamore's note, he is otherwise incorrect as to the "only printing in book form." The three Housman poems, actually translations from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have been reprinted a number of times in both books and periodicals.

They were first published in America in the *New Republic*, LIII, January 11, 1928, 220-221; one of the poems (Sophocles) appeared in the *Literary Digest*, XCVI, January 28, 1928, 32.

Book publication is as follows:

Mark Van Doren, ed., *An Anthology of World Poetry*, New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1928, pp. 275-280.

Same, New York: Literary Guild, 1929.

Same, New York: Reynald, 1936.

Mark Van Doren and Garibaldi M. Lapolla, eds., *An Anthology of World Poetry*, New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1929, pp. 99-104.

The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman, London: Jonathan Cape, 1939, pp. 243-247.

Same, New York: Henry Holt, 1940.

— WILLIAM WHITE

LEVER, CHARLES (1806-1872). *Our Mess*. Comprising *Jack Hinton*, *Guardsman*, and *Tom Burke of "Ours"*. Dublin, 1843-44.

35 Parts in 32, Nos. XII-XIII, XXIV-XXV and 34-35 being double numbers.

Wrappers.

Jack Hinton occurs in original wrappers with two variant imprints:

A. William Curry, Jun. And Co., Sackville-Street, Dublin.

W. S. Orr And Company, Paternoster-Row, London.

Sold By All Booksellers And Newsmen.

B. William Curry, Jun. And Co., Sackville-Street, Dublin.

W. S. Orr And Co., Paternoster-Row, London.

Sold By All Booksellers.

Tom Burke of "Ours" (which comprises Nos. XIV to 34-35 of *Our Mess*) occurs in original wrappers with three variant imprints.

Nos. XIV to XXII, either A or B, above.

Nos. XXIII to XXVII, either B, above, or:

C. William Curry, Jun. And Co., Sackville-Street, Dublin.

W. S. Orr And Company, Paternoster-Row, London.

Sold By All Booksellers.

I have seen Nos. XXVIII to 34-35, only with the imprint C. I would appreciate information as to whether these Nos. occur with the B imprint. Also, there is no evidence as to priority of issue (if any) of these variant imprints and any Nos. with contemporary dated inscriptions should be noted.

Text. There is evidence of resetting of text in three numbers I have seen, Nos. XXVI, XXIX, and XXXII. The line endings listed below are sufficient for identification:

	A	B
No. XXVI.	Page 2, line 10, ends: contemp-	contemptuously
	" " 14 " glorious	glori-
	" 3 " no signature mark	signature mark B ₂
	" 5 " 6 " Cairo,	when
	" 11 " 7 " forwards	for-
	" 32 " 4 " this	inequality
No. XXIX.	Page 97, line 9, ends: with	me
	" 99 " 28 " Duc-	Duchesne
	" 99 " no signature mark	signature mark H ₂
	" 115 " " "	" " I ₂
	" 117 " 4 " impelled,	im-
	" 127 " 4 " the	challenge
No. XXXII.	Page 193, line 13, ends: landlord	to
	" 194 " 3 " any thing	anything
	" 195 " 12 " certainty-	certainty,
	" 195 " no signature mark	signature mark O ₂
	" 209 " 12 " whole	fleet
	" 211 (13 from bottom) impa-	im-
	" 211 " no signature mark	signature mark P ₂
	" 213, line 4, ends: as	we
	" 224 " 8 " addressing	me.

Now it will be noted that the copies listed under B (which copies I think are a late state) have one thing in common. The second leaf of each signature is marked, H₂, I₂, O₂, P₂, etc., as the case may be. The A copies, on the other hand, have only the first leaf marked. Of all the sets of *Our Mess* I have examined, the three numbers above are the only ones I have seen with the second leaf of each signature so marked. There obviously must be others, however, and I would be grateful for

any report on them and a note of the imprint on their wrappers. They should be carefully checked against A copies for possible variations. All three copies I have seen have had the C imprint listed above.

Plates.

Plates 18 and 19 of *Tom Burke of "Ours,"* according to the List of Illustrations, both represent scenes on page 280, The Bridge, and Death of the Vivandiere, respectively.

According to the text, *The Bridge* shows "Our" wounded hero reclining on Minette's (the Vivandiere's) knee, while she gives him a drink from a flask; *Death of the Vivandiere* represents Minette, the Vivandiere, rushing across the bridge, waving her cap wildly above her head, as she receives her death wound.

However, the captions on the plates occur in two states; incorrectly, with the caption *The Bridge* under the scene representing *The Death of the Vivandiere*, and vice versa; and with the captions correctly placed. Plates with the incorrect captions are in my experience much scarcer than those with the captions correct.

— DAVID A. RANDALL

[MATHEWS, CORNELIUS (1817-1889)]. *Money Penny, or, The Heart of the World. A Romance of the Present Day.* New York: DeWitt & Davenport, 1849. 155 p., illus. 8vo.

Unrecorded edition. The edition recorded by Sabin, Allibone, Duyckinck, C. H. A. L., Foley and Wright is *New York*, 1850, 270 p.

— HOWARD S. MOTT

THACKERAY, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE (1811-1863). *Vanity Fair.* 20 Parts in 19. London, 1847-1848.

So far as I know, there has been no textual comparison of the early editions of *Vanity Fair*. Examination of several sets in parts, however, reveal that considerable changes in text were made while the book was going through the press, besides the classic "first issue" point of "Mr. Pitt, changed to Sir Pitt," page 453, line 31, so beloved of cataloguers.

It being obviously impossible to check all the parts of *Vanity Fair* against each other, the next best expedient seemed to be to check several sets of parts against the second edition (London, Bradbury and Evans, 1849) and so obtain a control against which other sets in parts can be measured. A partial list of the more important variations thus found are given below. I would appreciate information as to these readings in as many sets of *Vanity Fair* in parts as possible. Many of the changes were not made until the second edition, of course, but a goodly number of them have been found, also, in untouched sets in parts.

Page	Line	First Edition. Parts.	Second Edition.
8	17	only fifty years	fifty and five years
13	last	Horse Guards	Life Guards
27	15	last word, sigh	sigh, carried to next line

29		19 lines of text	20 lines of text
24	6 from bottom	Send to 26	Send to 96
28	7	off his howdah	off his seat
40	10	And what can Alderman Dobbin have amongst fourteen?	(Omitted)
45	4	Devonshire House	D— House
50	11 from bottom	this fat bacchanalian	Mr. Jos. Sedley
52	33-34	Doctor Glauber	Doctor Jollop
66	36	Leakington	Mudbury
75	29	Muttondown's	Southdown's
83	11	as Cornet and Lieutenant Crawley	in the Life Guards Green
94	30	Rincer	Bowls
101	last	sang to Heaven	sang <i>Te Deum</i>
109	35	Maria	Jane
116	32	Fisher	Firkin
152	33	honest, kind hand	trembling hand
156	last	improved British	uproused British
188	26	Old Osborne	Old Sedley
205	35	stately	state
236	25	Flanagan's	Flanahan's
244	3 from bottom	soldier	orderly
254	9	shall	shawl
266	9 from bottom	Allée-Verté	Allée Verte
284	4 from bottom	Captain Crawley had	Captain Crawley's horses had
293	11	having given up all ideas	having but faint ideas
294	4 from bottom	to the Grand Duchess	to H.H. the Duchess
313	1	chance	a chance
328	29	After a stay at Brussels where they lived in good fashion, with carriages and horses, and giving pretty little dinners at their hotel, the Colonel and his lady again quitted that city, from which slan- der pursued them as it had from Paris, and where it is said they left a vast amount of debt behind them. Indeed this is the way in which gentlemen who live upon noth- ing-a-year, make both ends meet.	(Not included)

333	37	Lady Susan's	Lady Jane's
385	19	puffs away as	puffs and as
405	18	sneaked	bolted
405	5 from bottom	the young gentlemen	many young gentlemen
434	last	Gaunt's tired	Gaunt's tired of
482	36	beating a tattoo	beating a drum
499	10	a — fool	a d— fool
502	3 from bottom	in his pompous manner	in pompous orations
510	19	miserable old	faded old
523	9	Ten years	Long years
543	7	Indian dandy	Indian dandies
555	3 from bottom	Mr. Hollyock	Mrs. Hollyock
579	7-8	certain debts and the insurance of his life	certain outstanding debts and liabilities
587	4 from bottom	at his lordship's side	near his lordship
588	32	Mr. Fenouil	Mr. Fiche
590	2	Grey Friars	White Friars
592	3 from bottom	No. 94	No. 90
601	6 from bottom	might have	certainly
604	8	besought Jos eagerly to	besought Mr. Sedley to
617	29	at the Dyke	on the Dyke
623	10 from bottom	declared	they declared

Information is also desired as to whether the imprint on the verso of the title page reads, London: | Bradbury And Evans, Printers, 11 Bouverie Street., or, London | Bradbury And Evans, Printers, Whitefriars.; whether the pagination numerals 2-16 are uniform in size with those from 17 on; and whether the printed title page has the reading, With Illustrations On Wood And Steel By The Author.; or, With Illustrations On Steel And Wood By The Author.

See *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 34, No. 2, p. 191.

— DAVID A. RANDALL

Josephson's Bibliography of the Invention of Printing

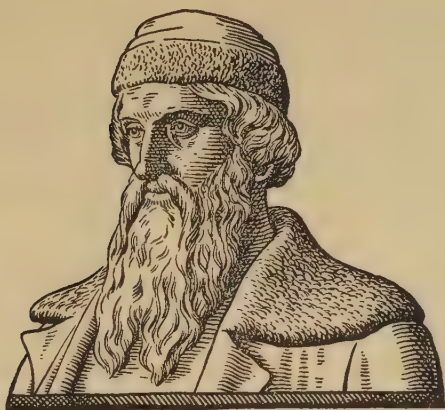
In the *Papers*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1917, Aksel G. S. Josephson published an article entitled "The Literature of the Invention of Printing." In the introduction he told of his then current effort to compile a comprehensive bibliography of the extensive literature on the invention of printing. At that time he had 1,850 titles on cards. Can anyone tell me what became of these cards?

Since a bibliography of materials on the invention of printing is now being compiled by a WPA project, it would be exceedingly helpful to be able to consult the notes of so able a bibliographer as Mr. Josephson. Advice, addressed to Douglas C. McMurtrie, at 950 Michigan Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, will be appreciated.

Incunabula in American Libraries

A SECOND CENSUS OF
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS OWNED IN THE
UNITED STATES, MEXICO, AND CANADA

Edited by
MARGARET BINGHAM STILLWELL
Librarian, The Annmary Brown Memorial



Published by
THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK

1940

TICINENSIS, M. Antonius — continued.

- T343 Oratio habita Mediolani in Concilio generali Fratrum minorum, 3 June 1498. Pavia: [n. pr.] 20 June 1498. 4°.
Ref: HR 15526; Walt p. 396.
Cop: WArtGL.

TILMANNUS DULMANIENSIS — BMC sic.

- T344 De vinea spirituali. De perfectione institutione novitiorum. [Cologne: Arnold Ther Hoernen, about 1482.] 4°.
Ref: C 5851; Hunt 598 [1476]; Voull(K) 1187; Polain (B) 3784; Pr 971; BMC I 209 (IA 3253).
Cop: HEHL.

TINCTOR, Nicolaus — GW, H sic. BMC: TINCTORIS, Nicolaus.

- T345 Dicta super Summulas Petri Hispani. [Reutlingen:] Michel Greyff, 11 June 1486. f°.
Ref: HC 15528*; Polain(B) 3785; Pr 2723; BMC II 579 (IB 10765).
Cop: UnTSL.

TIRANT lo BLANCH — GW sic. H: MARTORELL, Joanot.

- T346 Tirant lo Blanch. Valencia: [Nicolaus Spindeler, for Hans Rix and Hans Rosenbach] 20 Nov. 1490. f°.
N.B: According to *Hisip (Handbook, 1938)* p. 398, although named as translator, Joanot Martorell was the author of this work. He died before it was finished, however, and Johann de Galba completed the text. Known also in an issue with Spindeler's name — cf Pr 9502; Haeb(BI) I & II 639.
Ref: H 10861; Haeb(GSPF) p. 88-93.
Fac: Hispanic Society of America. New York, 1904.
Cop: HSAL.

- T347 — Barcelona: Peter Michael and Diego de Gumiel, 16 Sept. 1497. f°.
Ref: H 10862; Haeb(BI) I & II 640.
Cop: HSAL(-).

TITULUS TRIUMPHALIS.

- T348 Titulus triumphalis causae passionis et mortis Christi. [Leipzig: Martin Landsberg] 1492. Bdsde(f°).
Col: Goth ch. (Types 1 & 2). 81 ll. 16 wdets.
Ref: Baer Cat 750, pt 3, no. 768.
Cop: TOM.

TODSÜNDEN — BMC, GW, H sic.

- T349 Von den sieben Todsünden. Augsburg: Johann Bämle, 15 Nov. [14]74. f°.
Ref: HC 15535* = H 11128* (F. 29a-56b); Pr 1609; BMC II 333 & III 860 (IB 5658).
Cop: ChL; LC; NYPL; PML.

TOMIC, Pere — GW sic.

- T350 Histories e conquests de Cathalunya. Barcelona: Johann Rosembach, 4 June 1495. f°.
Ref: C 5834; Haeb(BI) 641.
Cop: HEHL; HSAL(-).

TONDALUS, seu TUNDALUS. H 15540* et seq. (See: TUNDALUS.)

TORNAMIRA, Johannes de — H sic. GW: JOHANNES de Tornamira.

- T351 Clarificatorium super nono Almansoris cum textu Rhasis. Lyons: Johann Trechsel, 17 June 1490. 4°.
Ref: HC 15551*; Klebs 984.1; Pr 8598; BMC (Th: Fr) p. 321.
Cop: ArMedL; BMedL; CPhL; HarvCL; LC; WArtGL. — HC.

Introducatorium ad practicam medicinae.

(See under: VALASCUS de Tarenta: Practica — H 15252*.)

TORNIUS, Bernardus — BMC, GW sic.

- T352 De motu locali Hentisberi quaedam annotata. Pisa: [Gregorius de Gente] 1484. 4°.
Ref: H 7351 (II); R 346 = R 1092; Klebs 978.1; Pr 7276A; BMC VII 1096 (IA 34423).
Cop: LC(T).

TORRE, Alfonso de la — BMC, GW, H sic.

- T353 Vision delectable [Spanish]. [Burgos: Friedrich Biel, 1485?] f°.
Ref: Haeb(BI) 644; Pr 9588A; BMC (Th: Sp) p. 93.
Cop: BPubL; HSAL(-).

- T354 — [—] Toulouse: Johann Parix and Stephan Cleblat, 1489. f°.
Ref: H 15556; AmbCat 449; Pr 8724; BMC (Th: Fr) p. 423; BMC (Th: Sp) p. 94.
Cop: AmbML; HEHL; HSAL.

- T355 — [—] [Valladolid: Pedro Giraldis and Miguel de Planes, about 1497.] f°.
Ref: Haeb(BI) 645; BMC (Th: Sp) p. 94.
Cop: HEHL.

TORRELLA, Gaspar (Caspar) — BMC, GW, H sic.

- T356 Dialogus de dolore cum tractatu de ulceribus in pudendagra. Rome: Johann Besicken and Martinus de Amsterdam, 31 Oct. 1500. 4°.
Ref: HC 15559; Klebs 980.1; Pr 4000; BMC IV 142 (IA 19436).
Cop: ArMedL.

De morbo gallico cum aliis. HC 15557.

(According to Klebs p. 322, this edition did not appear before 1506 — Cop: ArMedL.)

TORRELLA, Hieronymus — BMC, GW, H sic.

- T357 Opus praeclarum de imaginibus astrologis, 1 Dec. 1496. 'Valencia: Alfonso de Orta' [after 1 Dec. 1496]. 4°.
Ref: HCR 15560; Klebs 981.1 [probably Barcelona, after 1500]; Haeb(BI) I & II 642 [16th c]; Pr 9507; BMC (Th: Sp) p. 94.
Cop: ArMedL; CPhL.

TORRES, Didaco de — H sic.

- T358 Eclipse del sol [Spanish]. Salamanca: [Printer of Nebrissensis, 'Introductiones'] 1 Mar. 1485. 4°.
Ref: H 15561; Klebs 982.1; Klebs(P) 108; Haeb(BI) 646; Hunt 5152.
Cop: HEHL.

TORTELLIUS, Johannes — BMC, GW, H sic.

- T359 Orthographia. Rome: Udalricus Gallus (Ulrich Han) and Simon Nicolai Chardella, [after 10 Aug.] 1471. f°.
Ref: HC(+Add) 15563; Pr 3353; BMC IV 23 (IC 17281).
Cop: LC(T); PhF(W)L; PML; RadCL.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS IN THE UNITED STATES, MEXICO, AND CANADA

A New Tool for Workers in the World of Books

1940, of *Incunabula in American Libraries, Registered Copies of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in the United States, Mexico, and Canada*. The Second Census, edited by Margaret Bingham Stillwell.

In 1919 the Society issued the *Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in America* as a guide to the location of incunabula in libraries of the United States at that time. The *Census* was soon sold out, and within a very few years it began to be seen that large current acquisitions by libraries throughout the United States, Canada, and North America were making necessary a revised and enlarged edition of a book of proven usefulness.

The Society made plans for a *Second Census*, placing its compilation in the hands of Margaret Bingham Stillwell, Librarian of the Annmary Brown Memorial, Providence, author of *Incunabula and Americana*, and distinguished student of the fifteenth-century book. The work of compilation was greatly advanced through financial aid from the American Council of Learned Societies, and it has now been finished and the book published at the charge of the Bibliographical Society of America as the first number in its newly founded Monograph Series.

After several years of intensive work Miss Stillwell has produced a book which may be thus described in comparison with the *Census* of 1919:

	1919 Census	1940 Census	Increase	Percentage of increase
Owners	428	717	289	67.5%
Editions	6,292	11,130	4,838	76.8%
Copies	13,200	35,247	22,047	167%

There is no need for the Bibliographical Society to stress the importance of this store of books to the historian, the student of literature, the bibliographer, and the historian of printing. The study of incunabula has recently become a field for the student of historic culture as well as for the historian of printing types and the book arts in general. The Society feels that in this book it offers a fruitful guide to rich resources.

The sample page shows the style, indicates also the careful editing, and gives an idea of the large amount of concisely stated information conveyed by the entries in addition to their primary purpose of locating copies in the libraries throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

The volume contains over 600 pages printed in Linotype Granjon, on an all-rag paper, by The Southworth-Anthoensen Press of Portland, Maine. It is substantially bound in cloth. The cost is \$20.00 a copy, with discount of ten per cent for orders received before October 31, 1940.

Members of the Bibliographical Society of America may obtain copies at the ten per cent discount until January 1, 1941.

Orders may be sent to The Permanent Secretary, The Bibliographical Society of America, 47 East 60th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME THIRTY-FOUR

FOURTH QUARTER, 1940

THE TREATMENT OF DRAKE'S CIR- CUMNAVIGATION IN HAKLUYT'S "VOYAGES," 1589

By WILLIS HOLMES KERR

DESCRIBING a copy of the 1589 Hakluyt's *Voyages* the booksellers' catalogues usually say something like this: "Contains the very rare suppressed account of Drake's voyage around the world 1577-1580." One day a dozen years ago, while examining the Pomona College Library copy of Hakluyt, my friend, Dr. Henry R. Wagner, bibliographer and cartographer of Spanish and Western America, remarked that he had never seen a copy of the 1589 edition without the so-called "Drake leaves."

That remark by Mr. Wagner started my search: Did Master Hakluyt intend to include Drake's voyage in his book, or did he not? I have since examined every 1589 Hakluyt I could get to see. The nearby Huntington Library has three copies, Mr. Wagner had a copy (now given to the California Historical Society), the Mason Library of Pomona College has both the 1589 (7)¹ and the 1598/1600 (8) editions. In London, some years ago, I examined the two copies at the British Museum, the one at Uni-

¹References are to the numbered list of Sources and Authorities, appended.

Refer now to the extant copies of the 1589 Hakluyt. Of the forty-seven known copies, only seven *lack* the account of the Drake expedition. That is, in forty copies the Drake voyage appears as a gathering of six leaves without pagination, usually inserted between Mmm₃ and Mmm[4], *i.e.*, pages 643 and 644, with its first three leaves marked Mmm₄, Mmm₅, and Mmm₆. The catchword ("Instructions") at the bottom of the last page of the interpolated Drake leaves connects with first word on numbered page 644, so the Drake pages are very evidently meant for the book. Hereafter, we shall refer to them as the "Drake leaves."

Of course a controlling factor in this whole inquiry is the binding: whether a contemporary binding (sometimes called original), an original binding repaired or re-backed, or a modern binding. Many things may have happened to a rebound book, perhaps even to a re-backed book. Many sins of omission or addition may have been committed. It is an uncertain factor, but a controlling one.

However, it happens that of the seven copies of Hakluyt *not* containing the Drake voyage, two are probably original bindings, two are eighteenth century, while three are modern. Thus only two copies in the contemporary or early binding (presumably) lack the Drake leaves. Those copies are the Ashmole copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the Newberry copy. The Ashmole copy has been rebacked, a long time ago apparently. Mr. Gibson, of the Bodleian staff, suggested that since the Ashmole library came to the Bodleian in the seventeenth century (about 1672), this copy of Hakluyt may have escaped any doctoring. For although Sir Thomas Bodley excluded "plays" at the beginning of his library in 1602, and toward the end of the century when the third Shakespeare folio was published the keepers of the Bodleian disposed of one of the first folios as being a duplicate, the Bodleian probably did *not* remove the Drake leaves from its copy of the 1589 Hakluyt. The Newberry copy is undoubtedly

in the original calf binding, and was issued without the Drake leaves, though the signature containing the Drake voyage is *pasted* in (not sewn) at page 643. I believe the Clements copy also belongs in this group, though its binding is "definitely eighteenth-century, marbled boards, calf backs and corners." My supposition at this stage of the inquiry is that these contemporary or early-bound copies show that the Hakluyt book was at first given out *without* the account of the Drake voyage.

But another typographical or bibliographical factor enters into our inquiry with the so-called "Bowes leaves." As first printed, signatures Xx[5], Xx[6], Yy[1]-[6] (pages 491 to 505, with 506 blank), contained "The Ambassage of Sir Hierome Bowes to the Emperour of Muscovie 1583," followed by three minor accounts. Apparently errors were found, for the Bowes story was reprinted in shortened form, occupying signatures Yy[1]-[6] (pages 491 to 501, with 502 blank); pagination 503 to 506 was dropped out. The chapter heading of the revised Bowes Ambassage, on page 491, occupies five printed lines instead of the two lines in the first printing, and contains the phrase, "printed this second time, according to a true copie I received. . . ." The two printings of the Bowes Ambassage are usually referred to as the "first state" and the "second state" of the Bowes leaves, and we follow that usage.

Referring again to the forty-seven examined or library-described copies of the Hakluyt book, the information on the Bowes leaves may be summarized thus: Eleven copies have the Bowes first printing. Twenty-five have the Bowes second state. Nine contain the Bowes leaves in *both* states, in four of which one or the other of the Bowes signatures is "short" or re-margined. Two copies do not contain the Bowes account in either state (Iowa and Bowdoin, both perhaps defective?). The Clements copy, in its eighteenth-century binding, has Bowes first printing, no Drake leaves in the book, but has "separates" of both the Drake account and the second Bowes account. One of the Folger-Harmsworth

copies is in eighteenth-century(?) paneled calf, with the Drake leaves, and with both sets of the Bowes leaves, the first state being from a shorter copy and sewed on guards. One of the Philadelphia Library Company copies (Loganian No. 1050F) is in stamped calf (nineteenth-century imitation of an older binding?), with the Drake leaves short on both side and the bottom, and with Bowes in the first state. One of the Huntington Library copies has the Bowes leaves of the first printing, and has the Drake leaves inserted in the wrong place (between pages 649/650). It is a modern binding. Another of the Huntington copies, in old stamped calf, has the Bowes leaves in the second state, but has a set of stubs at page 491, all ready for insertion of the "first state." I reason that the old Ashmole copy in the Bodleian, the Newberry copy, and the Clements copy are the only ones not tampered with, though one of the Carter Brown copies and the above Philadelphia copy may belong to the first printing.

On referring to the elaborate seven-page table of contents ("the order of all the voyages comprised in this whole worke") and to the equally elaborate nine-page index ("Table Alphabetically, containing a compendious extract of the principall names and matters comprised in the whole precedent worke . . ."), we find that the Bowes signature in its first state, and that state only, is referred to and indexed. It would not have been practicable to revise the contents and index when the Bowes story was corrected. The Drake voyage is not mentioned in either contents or index, despite the prominent mention of Drake on the title-page (25, p. 18). On this basis, aside from the evidence of the title-page, at the time of going to press it was the publisher's, or author's, intention to include the Bowes leaves in the first state and not to include the Drake leaves. And yet we find only three probably-untampered-with copies of 1589 Hakluyt which *lack* the Drake leaves; and we find only eleven examples of the Bowes leaves in the first state alone, as at first intended, twenty-five in the second state alone, and nine with both sets of Bowes.

There is almost no discussion of the Bowes leaves in the Hakluyt literature or in bibliographical sources. It may be only a matter of determining, if possible, at what point in the publishing of the book the printing of the first state was stopped and the use of the second state begun. Perchance, purchasers of the book had their choice of either or both printings of the Bowes story, for there was no "publisher's binding" at this period or for a long time after.

My hypothesis, therefore, is that the first copies issued of the 1589 Hakluyt contained Bowes in the first state and no Drake leaves, and that with the correction (second state) of the Bowes leaves the insertion of the Drake leaves began. The Bodleian and the Newberry copies bear out this theory, and the Clements copy helps it. The Carter Brown copy in early nineteenth-century binding may be almost as good evidence as the Bodleian and Newberry copies, for it was probably issued with Bowes in first state and without the Drake leaves.

However, there are some marginal cases tending to upset my theory. Seven copies are reported in original or early binding, all containing the Drake account, five of them having the Bowes corrected account, one (McGregor) both Bowes accounts, and one (Yale) the Bowes first account. In other words, was not the Hakluyt book issued in every-which way, all things to all men? I think, too, we have to admit that the copies containing both sets of Bowes leaves are post-theoretical, or as Kant would say, transcendental. But how about these seven copies in original or early binding, *with* the Drake account, and with the Bowes story in various states? Frankly, I think they give us a picture of the stages in publishing the book. We have three copies in original binding, with the first Bowes leaves and no Drake leaves: they are the first issue. Then comes the Yale copy, in original binding, with first printing of Bowes and the addition of Drake's voyage. It is *the* marginal copy. Then follow all the other copies, rebound, "made-up," "skilfully repaired," et cetera, practically all con-

taining the "very rare suppressed" Drake voyage and having the Bowes leaves in first, second, or transcendental states.

In the New York Public Library, in Mr. Lenox's annotated copy of Ternaux-Compans' *Bibliothèque Americaine* (6), opposite the entry for Hakluyt is the following note, presumably in Mr. Lenox's handwriting (Mr. Eames thought it was):

Also the rare cancelled leaves of Bowes' voyage, as first printed and afterwards suppressed, filling pages 491 to 505 inclusive, together with the re-issue of the same in abridged form, comprising only pages 491 to 501 — Yy.

If Mr. Lenox had noted that the contents and index refer only to the first printing of Bowes, and if by personal examination or careful report of forty-seven copies he had found the Bowes first printing present in twenty cases, would he have said the Bowes narrative was "suppressed"? Probably it is mere quibble to argue whether either Bowes or Drake leaves were "suppressed," when it is well known that in this period of printing and publishing pages or leaves were often canceled and that many copies of such books have been preserved with all canceled leaves bound or laid in.

At this point we may summarize these various printing and publishing factors, particularly as they concern the issue of the Drake leaves. Reference has been made to the evidence on the title-page that Hakluyt intended to include the Drake voyage despite his reluctant "yeelding." In the third paragraph of the title-page, one of the "corners of the vaste and new world of America" mentioned as searched out by the "English valiant attempts" is "Nova Albion upon the backside of Canada." Now up to 1589 no Englishman save Drake had searched out "Nova Albion." This deliberate last-minute mention of Drake's voyage on the title-page may be the conclusive piece of evidence in our problem. However, I have come to feel that in many Elizabethan and early Jacobean books the title-page is a sort of springboard for the author, a prospectus of his intentions; that it often was

the first step in the writing of the book, though usually the last step in the printing.

The situation, at the time of issue of the Hakluyt book, if you could have stepped into Bishop and Newberie's printshop, was something like this: the title-page, perhaps the last page set, shows what was probably the author's first view and certainly his last intention, namely, to feature the Drake voyage. The Address to the Reader elaborates upon this original intention, but explains reluctantly that he has changed his mind. The table of contents does not include the Drake voyage. The index does not refer to it. But the convincing fact is that forty of the forty-seven extant copies of the book contain a twelve-page account of the Drake circumnavigation, which must have been printed after the contents and the index and perhaps after the title-leaf.

Mr. Lawrence Wroth, of the John Carter Brown Library, has shown his interest in the problem by the following comment:

It seems to me an argument worth emphasizing that the references to Drake's voyage around the world appear upon the title-page even though Hakluyt said in his introduction that he was omitting the leaves dealing with that voyage. The order of events could have been something like this: a second change of mind occurred even while the preliminary leaves were in the press, or, to put it differently, Hakluyt decided to print the Drake leaves after having previously "yeilded" in the contrary direction. The preliminary leaves, including the title-leaf, would normally have been the last of the book to be printed. The remainder of the book would already have been printed when this second change of mind occurred, and the sheets may even have been folded. It was too late to get the Drake leaves into the regular signature series but not too late to insert them in one of the quires. He therefore had them printed at once and succeeded in getting them into most of the copies that were sent out. Copies without them *might* be representative of a few which had been issued before the change was made, but if I am right in supposing that the decision to insert the leaves was made *before* the title-page was printed, this theory does not hold. The leaves could have been omitted from a group of copies through a slip in shop routine, and if that were the case the question of priority of copies does not arise at all. Those copies without the leaves were defective at the time of issue and are still defective.

But the Drake puzzle has had many interesting comments and ramifications. The opinions of various commentators are of interest here:

In his book, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World*, (29) Dr. Henry R. Wagner says:

So far the writer has not been able to find any direct evidence fixing the date at which these inserted six leaves were printed, but it seems obvious that they were not issued with the book. There is a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence which indicates that they may not have been printed until 1594 or 1595.

Lowndes says, and Goldsmith's edition of Hakluyt (10) repeats the statement:

It appears, however, that he printed the account privately.

Henry S. Burrage (21) says:

The earliest relation of the voyage (Drake) in print is the one ascribed to Francis Pretty, entitled "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Seas . . . begun in the year of our Lord 1577." Hakluyt had a copy, but in the introduction to his edition of 1589 he says that the friends of Drake, who did not wish to have their publication forestalled, asked him to omit it. He seems to have printed it privately, however, and the six pages, without pagination, were inserted after page 643 in some, if not all, of the copies of the edition.

In Sabin (5, v. 7, p. 543) is a passage of more than ordinary interest:

Hakluyt, on the last page of his address "to the Reader," notices with regret his being compelled to comply with the request of certain friends, in the suppression of Sir Francis Drake's Voyage. . . . He, however, appears to have printed a few copies privately; and the Voyage thus suppressed is sometimes inserted after p. 643. This portion consists of three sheets, or six leaves, bearing the signatures Mmm. 4, 5, and 6; followed by a broadside or sheet, a Journal or Extract, from the Logbook of the Voyage, from the departure from Plymouth Road, September 14, 1585, the progress minutely detailed till the return to Portsmouth, July 22, 1586. This sheet is of extreme rarity. It is scarcely necessary to suggest that the addition of the original version of Bowes' and Drake's Voyages add greatly to the value of any copy of the work in which they happen to be.

The reference to the broadside containing the extract from the logbook of the voyage of 1585-1586 is an error, I believe, as that was a voyage to the West Indies. Sabin evidently was describing one of the Lenox copies which contains on two small leaves, printed on one side only and inserted after the Drake leaves, a description of Drake's West Indies voyage of 1585-1586. Mr. Lenox's annotated copy of Ternaux (6, p. 181) says this broadside was "intended for a smaller volume."

A footnote by Dr. Eva G. R. Taylor, in her edition of *The original writings and correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts* (12, v. 2, p. 407), carries more suggestion than any of the foregoing:

The author's intention at the time of writing was to omit Drake's voyage. The alternative plans for its publication must have fallen through just as Hakluyt's work left the press, when an abridgement of his own compilation was inserted into unsold copies.

In his essay on *The English voyages of the sixteenth century*, appended to the Hakluyt Society-Maclehose edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Professor Walter Raleigh remarks (11, v. 12, pp. 53-54):

It is to be regretted that these early exploits of Drake are barely recorded in Hakluyt's compilation, and rest on later authority, eked out with Spanish State papers. Hakluyt, who was willing enough to memorialize deeds of war, shows a certain tenderness of conscience with regard to sheer piracy. He was bound, moreover, to pay heed to the possible international bearings of his publication. In his 1589 preface To the Favourable Reader he apologizes for his omission of the Voyage of Circumnavigation, and explains it on the ground that a collection of Drake's voyages was being made by another hand. He speaks somewhat slightly of Drake's great voyage, and offers no excuse for omitting the raids on the Spanish Main. Yet the greatness of Drake is perhaps seen in these early buccaneerings. . . . Drake's object was to drive England into war. The object of the Government was to keep a free hand. . . . But the Queen had a soft corner in her heart for him . . . she offered him secret encouragement.

We wonder whether in saying that Hakluyt "speaks somewhat slightly of Drake's great voyage," Professor Raleigh allowed sufficient weight to the prominence given Drake's exploits on the

very title-page of the book, even though his name is not actually mentioned.

The most recent and the fullest explanation of what happened to the Drake leaves in the 1589 Hakluyt is in a book published in 1934 by Professor Eva G. R. Taylor, of the University of London, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart geography* (25, pp. 15, 18-19). She comes to the same conclusion, historically and geographically, as that which this paper presents from a typographic inquiry and tabulation:

There was, moreover, a further stimulus to the publication, just at this time, of the English Voyages. Thomas Cavendish had returned in the autumn of 1588 from his successful circumnavigation of the globe, a voyage which from Hakluyt's standpoint was geographically more valuable than Drake's. The records of Cavendish's voyage, too, were for family reasons very fully at Hakluyt's disposal, and he proposed to make the two circumnavigations, with their major result of the establishment of direct English relations with the Moluccas, the crowning episode and the climax of his drama of discovery. . . .

It should be remarked that Drake's Circumnavigation appears neither in the list of Contents nor in the Index. Certain documents which came late into Hakluyt's hands were inserted between the Virginia Patent (planned as the end-piece) and the Index, but these were correctly placed in the Table of Contents, which must have been printed last. As the author explained, he had taken special pains in preparing an account of Drake's voyage, but hearing that someone else had undertaken a complete history of all Sir Francis's enterprises, he agreed to lay his own account aside, so as not to forestall his fellow writer. The latter's plans evidently fell to the ground, for no such work appeared, and after the Principal Voyages had actually been published, Hakluyt condensed his prepared version of the "Famous Voyage" into six pages and had these inserted (necessarily without pagination) in such copies as were unsold, placing them immediately before the narrative of Fenton's voyage of 1582. The evidence for rather hasty condensation is afforded by the marginal notes, which in places do not correspond with the text, and presuppose lacunae.

Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation as to what publication Hakluyt had in mind when he "yeelded" is given by Julian S. Corbett (22):

2. A Ms. (Sloane 61) entitled "The first part of the second voyage about the world attempted, continued, etc. by Mr. Francis Drake" (Copy). In the body of the work it is stated to be by Fletcher, and without doubt it is the "Notes"

on which the "World Encompassed" was founded. As such it is printed by Vaux. It ends unfortunately with the incident at Mocha Island, just before the great raid on the Pacific coast began. Of the second part nothing is known. What we have was written after Cavendish's voyage in 1588. It was very likely the fact of this work's being in progress that Hakluyt had in mind when he wrote that he had refrained at first from publishing anything about Drake's great voyage for fear of spoiling another man's labour.

It is well known that these "Notes" by Francis Fletcher, who was chaplain on the Drake voyage, were the basis for the publication in 1626 of *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (16) and in 1628 of *The World Encompassed* (17), both books being put together by Sir Francis Drake, Bart., nephew of Captain Drake. In fact, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* published in 1626, carries a Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, dated January 1, 1592/3, by Sir Francis Drake, the elder.

Was it this combination of known intent by Drake and his friends to publish their account of the voyage, together with the knowledge that Francis Fletcher was actually at work on it, and the existence of the Hakluyt account of Drake (not suppressed because openly supplied), which caused Thomas Blundeville (13, pp. 243-244) to write in 1594, while Drake was still alive:

But if it might please Sir Francis to write a perfect Diarie of his whole voyage, shewing howe much he sayled in a day . . . and all other necessary accidents most meate for sea men to knowe. In thus doing the said Sir Francis I say should greatly profite his countrie men, and thereby deserve immortal fame, of all which things, I doubt not but that he hath alreadie written, and will publish the same when he shall thinke most meate.

Two other factors remain for brief consideration: typography and paper.

The Drake leaves check exactly with the rest of the book in type-font, make-up of pages, register; and they check closely in impression. However, both the Drake leaves and the Bowes second printing are slightly "fuzzy" in impression, as if the type were worn, and the ink-color is brownish. The two sets of leaves were evidently printed at the same time. However, in the Po-

mona College copy of Hakluyt, the Bowes second printing is remargined and is on much thinner laid paper (almost translucent), a factor which needs further examination. Any doubt we might have about the possibility of printing the Drake leaves sometime after the body of the book, and still matching the typography, is set at rest by the knowledge that at this period each press could make its own type as needed and could keep its typographic style exact. More probably, however, there are suggestions, not to say evidence, in Talbot Reed (40) that fairly steady supplies of type could be had from English type founders as early as 1590. The remark by Aldis (31) may have no bearing, but it is interesting that George Bishop, who with Ralph Newberry was a deputy of Christopher Barker, "issued a large number of books and held shares in such ventures as Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Hakluyt's *Voyages*." If books were syndicated and shares of stock issued, what may you not expect?

The large number of typographical variants in books contemporary with Hakluyt (for example, the first editions of Spenser and of Shakespeare) suggests to one acquainted with modern printing that the type for a book which was popular might have been kept standing for additional runs. In that case it would be easy to correct the Bowes leaves and to print the Drake leaves, and easy to insert or omit either signature or both. More probably these variants occurred from corrections made while the form was on the press, all printed sheets, both correct and incorrect, being gathered up and used in the book. However, Greg and Boswell (34, p. lvi) reveal that even in 1589 there were codes and regulations protecting printers and controlling their masters:

There are orders against standing formes, that is against keeping type set up from impression to impression, and like wise against double impressions, that is against printing more than the regulation number of copies from one setting of the type (Arber, ii, 43). (36).

However, few if any presses in 1589 had type enough to set up at one time the whole of a book the size of Hakluyt.

Another doubt might be whether the supply of paper stock was constant and uniform. The Drake leaves match the remainder of the book closely in paper substance, texture, color, and watermark. The watermark, a pot or flagon with crown, is the mark of various papermills in Normandy, examples being found in documents from about 1535 all the way down to 1600. Some authorities, including Briquet, however, point out that the "pot" mark also indicated size. This paper, with the flagon watermark, says Heawood, was used for Holinshed's *Chronicles* of 1586, Hakluyt of 1589, Spenser's *Faery Queene* of 1596, and the second edition of Hakluyt 1598-1600. The supply of paper from France was constant and cheap, and no English papermill prospered until nearly 1700. (See Heawood 35, Briquet 33). There are two, and probably three, papers in this book of pot size or mark. The fact that the Drake leaves are printed on what seems to be the same paper as that of two of the sheets of the signature in which they are inserted points to their having been printed at about the same time.

The evidence from printing and publishing factors then is negative: the Drake leaves could have been produced to match the rest of the book at any time within five or ten years after 1589, but I do not think that is what happened. For the moment let us assume that the Drake leaves were not printed at the beginning. It is probably true that the greatest sale would be at the time of publication, and that relatively as many copies of the first printing would persist till now as of later printings (if any). Then how may we account for the presence of the Drake leaves in so large a proportion of extant copies? Or if the Drake leaves were furnished separately, is it reasonable to suppose that they would get bound into so overwhelming a proportion of copies?

No doubt the only value of this inquiry is in the actual examination of the known copies of Hakluyt and in the tabulation and comparison of the facts. The census (appended) seems to show that the Drake leaves are not the "very rare suppressed ac-

count" of the famous voyage. They were not suppressed, for they are almost always present. With only about fifty copies in existence, the 1589 Hakluyt with or without the Drake leaves is a rare book, but the Drake leaves are little if any rarer than the book itself.

It is not my purpose to go far into the historical factors at the foundation of all this. It may be permissible for a busy librarian to pursue bibliography as a hobby and to tell about it naively as this paper does, but not to reconstruct history. I have gone far enough, however, in the *Calendars of the State Papers* (18), especially the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador at Elizabeth's court, Bernardino di Mendoza, to feel that from 1580 to 1589, and for that matter to his death in 1596, Drake was too busy and his personal and political fortunes in too much flux to allow him to publish an account of his great voyage. Everybody knew about his voyage and his return and the treasure brought back: Mendoza, if no one else, saw to it that everybody knew.

Probably the key to the whole situation lies in Professor Walter Raleigh's remark (11): "Drake's object was to drive England into war. The object of the Government was to keep a free hand." So the Queen and her councillors, several of whom had shares (27, and 30, pp. 168-172) in the Voyage, assure the nervous English merchants who had received news of Drake's first seizures of Spanish property on the Pacific coast and had gone to the Council in fear that Philip might retaliate against English merchants in Spain, that Drake had gone on a voyage of discovery and if he took booty it was not their fault and Philip would not do anything about it. Mendoza calls Drake a pirate and robber from the very first, but Elizabeth sends two of her secretaries to Mendoza to assure him that she has investigated and found that Drake has not damaged Mendoza's sovereign. By order of the Council, Drake hands over his treasure for safe-keeping, against requisition by Spain, but before it is finally locked up Drake and

his men are allowed access to it and divide generous portions, and Mendoza becomes furious at Drake's generosity:

Drake is squandering more money than any man in England. . . . He gave to the Queen the crown . . . (with) diamond cross. . . . He gave to Essex. . . .

By all means, give yourself the pleasure of reading Mendoza's letters for several years, beginning about June, 1578!

And yet Camden remarks (14) in his account of 1580:

Nothing anger'd worse Sir Francis Drake than to see the Nobles and the chiefest of the Court, refuse that Gold and Silver which he presented them withall, is if hee had not lawfully come by it. The Commons, neverthelesse applauded him with all praise and admiration, esteeming, he had purchased no lesse glory in advancing the limits of the English, their honour and reputation, than to their Empire.

We had best leave Drake here, in favour with the Queen most of the time, suspected by part of the nobility, but with the plaudits of the man on the street.

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CENSUS OF THE 1589 HAKLUYT'S "VOYAGES"

(Note: Additions and corrections will be welcomed by the compiler. Compilation revised to July 25, 1940. Copies marked "+" have been examined by the compiler. Copies marked "—" are described by owner-library.)

<i>Copy</i>	<i>Binding</i>	<i>Drake leaves</i>	<i>Bowes leaves</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>London</i>				
+1. Br. Mus. (1)	Old	Yes	Second	
+2. Br. Mus. (2)	Modern	Yes	Second	
+3. Univ. College	Orig. calf, rep.	Yes	Second	
<i>Oxford</i>				
+4. Bodleian (1)	Orig., reb.	No	First	Ashmole copy, 17th cent.
+5. Bodleian (2)	Rebacked	Yes	Second	
<i>Cambridge</i>				
-6. Cambr. U. L. (1)	Modern	Yes	Both	Young copy, 1933.
-7. Cambr. U. L. (2)	Calf, c. 1800	Yes	Second	
-8. Cambr. U. L. (3)	Calf, c. 1800	Yes	Second	
<i>Toronto, Can.</i>				
-9. Toronto P. L.	Bedford mor.	Yes	Second	Barlow copy.
<i>California</i>				
+10. Calif. Hist. Soc., S. F.	Modern	Yes	Both	Wagner copy. Bowes second short.
+11. Huntington (1)	Modern	Yes	Both	Bowes first re-margined.
+12. Huntington (2)	Modern	Yes	First	Drake, between 649/652.
+13. Huntington (3)	Old st. calf	Yes	Second	Stubs, p. 491.
+14. Pomona College L.	Bedford full mor.	Yes	Both	Huth. Bowes second re-margined.

-15. Hartford. Watkinson L.	Modern calf, reb.	Yes	Second		
-16. New Haven. Yale U. L.	Orig. calf	Yes	First		Purch. 1931, Wm. H. Robinson.
-17. Southport. Pequet L.	Crushed levant	Yes	First		
<i>Illinois, Chicago</i>					
+18. Newberry L.	Orig. calf	No (?)	First		From H. Stevens. Drake re-margined and pasted in (not sewn).
<i>Iowa, Iowa City</i>					
-19. Univ. Iowa L.	Rebacked, one-half lea.	Yes	None		Talbot Libr. t.p., map, and pp. 644-645 missing.
<i>Maine, Brunswick</i>					
-20. Bowdoin Coll. L.	18th cent. calf	No	None		Defective? Lacks also map, pp. 610-611, 688-689, 694-695.
<i>Massachusetts</i>					
-21. Boston P. L.	Modern	Yes	Second		Purchased 1848.
-22. Cambridge. Harv. U. L.	Modern 1877	Yes	Second		
-23. Williams C., Chapin L.	Contemp. calf, reb.	Yes	Second		
-24. Worcester. Amer. Antiq. Soc.	Orig. calf cracked	Yes	Second		Purch. before 1881. Lacks t.p.
<i>Michigan</i>					
-25. Ann Arbor. Clements L.	18th cent. bds. & calf	No	First		Has Drake & Bowes second as separates.
<i>New York</i>					
-26. Albany. State Libr.	Prob. orig. calf	Yes	Second		Joseph Harford copy. Purchased 1918.
-27. N. Y. Hispanic Soc. (1)	Bedford crushed lev.	No	Second		Purchased from Hiersemann. Imperfect.
-28. N. Y. Hispanic Soc. (2)	Orig. calf	Yes	Second		Phipps bookplate. Hiersemann. Imperfect.
+29. N. Y. Morgan L.	Bedford full mor.	Yes	Both		Drake re-margined.
-30. N. Y. Hist. Soc.	Orig. calf, rep.	Yes	Second		Buckingham Smith copy. No map. Drake from another copy.
-31. Poughkeepsie. Vassar C. L.	19th cent. full calf	Yes	Second		Brinley copy.
+32. N. Y. P. L. (1)	Modern	Yes	Second		Lenox.
+33. N. Y. P. L. (2)	Old	Yes	Second		Lenox.
+34. N. Y. P. L. (3)	Modern	Yes	Both		Bowes first short.

Philadelphia

- 35. Bethlehem. Lehigh U. L.
+36. Libr. Co. (1)
+37. Libr. Co. (2)

Yes
Yes
Yes

18th cent. full lea., rep.
Modern three-quarters mor.
Stamped full calf

Second
Second
First

"Old accession." Libr. Co. 244F
"Old accession." Loganian 1050F

Providence, R. I.

- 38. J. C. Brown (1)
-39. J. C. Brown (2)
-40. Albert E. Lownes

No
Yes
Yes

Full calf, early 19th cent.
Full mor.
Mor.

First
First
Second

Has Bowes second as separate.
Purch. from Goodspeed, 1923.

Washington, D. C.

- +41. L. C. (1)
+42. L. C. (2)
-43. McGregor (1)
-44. McGregor (2)
+45. Folger L. (1) Folger 181
+46. Folger L. (2) H. H. 103/1
+47. Folger L. (3) H. H. 103/2

Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
No
Yes

Modern mor.
Modern three-quarters calf
Calf, early 18th cent.
Russia, about 1800
Paneled calf, 19th cent.
Brown lev. mor., Lloyd

Second
Second
Both
Both
First

"Thomas Bowes" copy.
Thatcher copy.

Wright-Molyneux map.
Menzies 1878; Sewall libr. 1896. Lacks map.
Ingoldsby: Harnsworth from Edwards
1921. Magnificent copy.
Bowes first from shorter copy, sewed on
guards. Cropped. Map in facsimile.

Booksellers' copies:

- +48. Quaritch (1)
+49. Quaritch (2)
+50. Quaritch (3)
-51. Quaritch (4)
-52. Hodgson (1)

Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes

Orig. calf
Rebound
Old, broken, imperf.
Contemp. calf
Not described

£300.
£225.
Cat. 500, April, 1935. £225.
Dec. 1, 1932. Molyneux map. Galvano
voyage. £760.

- 53. Hodgson (2)
-54. Scribner (Stevens)
-55. Goodspeed

Yes
Yes
Yes

Not described
Orig. calf, rep.
Full polished mor.

March 30, 1933 (Times Ap. 6, 1933) £162.
\$1000. Oct., 1938.
"The Month," Dec., 1938. \$500.

DANIEL DRAKE AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION

By EMMET FIELD HORINE

IN a meeting of this Society held in the city of his adoption it has seemed most appropriate to present Daniel Drake, Cincinnati's foremost citizen. Perhaps I owe you, a strictly bibliographical group, an apology since I shall not consider his writings from an anatomical standpoint but rather from one largely bibliological. However, in extenuation of the plan of my presentation, it has seemed to me that a study of the *mind* of Drake might be of greater interest than a physical description of his books along more definitely bibliographical lines.

In proof of the prominence of Daniel Drake, I would refer you to the first directory of Cincinnati¹ printed in October, 1819. On pages 37-38 the Cincinnati College is described, and Daniel Drake is listed as having been elected as a director for the ensuing year. On page 39, Dr. Daniel Drake, with two colleagues, is mentioned as delivering medical lectures during the winter of 1818. Further, it is stated that in the month of January, 1819, Dr. Drake visited the Legislature of Ohio and obtained a law of incorporation for the Medical College of Ohio. Page 40 mentions Drake as one of the managers of the Western Museum; page 45 lists Daniel Drake as 2nd Vice-President of the Humane Society; and on page 47 he is listed as a Director of the United States Branch Bank. Page 97 informs us that Daniel Drake is a

¹ *The Cincinnati Directory, Containing the Names, Profession and Occupation of the Inhabitants of the Town, . . . with an interesting Sketch of its local Situation and Improvements.* Published by Oliver Farnsworth, October, 1819.

member of the Standing Committee of The Cincinnati Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures and Domestic Economy; and on page 151 we learn that Daniel Drake is President of the Cincinnati Library Society. He continued just as active in the development of Cincinnati during the remainder of his life, except for the periods he taught at Lexington, Philadelphia, and Louisville. Unquestionably were Drake alive today he would not only have been a member of this Society, but would also, in all probability, have been the one asked to deliver the address of welcome to the American Library Association with which we are meeting.

Daniel Drake, the second child of Isaac (1756-1832) and Elizabeth (Shotwell) Drake (1761-1831), was born in Essex County, New Jersey, on October 20, 1785. When Daniel was less than three years of age his family moved to Washington, Kentucky, which they reached with a capital of one dollar. Isaac Drake became a teamster but soon was able to purchase a farm near Mayslick, Kentucky, where the family lived in a rude log cabin. Daniel attended no regular school but received desultory schooling from itinerant teachers through his fifteenth year. An extremely interesting record of this period has been left by Daniel Drake in his *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*.² Theodore Roosevelt in *The Winning of the West*³ quotes from this book by Drake and terms it "an invaluable work." Albert J. Beveridge in his *Abraham Lincoln*⁴ refers to Drake's *Pioneer Life in Kentucky* and incidentally mentions the fact that Lincoln once wrote Drake a long letter detailing his symptoms and seeking advice which, rightly, Drake refused to give unless a physical examination were made.

² Daniel Drake. *Pioneer Life in Kentucky. A Series of Reminiscential Letters*. (Ohio Valley Historical Series, No. 6.) Cincinnati, R. Clarke & Co., 1870. (Reprinted in 1907.)

³ Theodore Roosevelt. *The Winning of the West*. 2 vol. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.

⁴ Albert J. Beveridge. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1809-1858. 2 vol. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company [1928].

Further, Beveridge mentions Drake's letters to Dr. John C. Warren on slavery which originally appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington,⁵ and which were recently issued in book form.⁶

Although Drake's preliminary education had been scanty he was apprenticed, shortly after his fifteenth birthday, to Dr. William Goforth of Cincinnati. After four years of study and apprenticeship, Goforth gave him a "diploma," the first granted west of the Allegheny Mountains, which attested to Drake's ability to practice *physic*, *surgery*, and *midwifery*.⁷ After practicing for a year in partnership with Dr. Goforth, Drake went in 1805 to the University of Pennsylvania where he attended his first course of medical lectures. Returning to Cincinnati he found Dr. Goforth preparing to leave. Hereupon, Drake went to the home of his parents at Mayslick where he practiced for approximately a year, and then relocated in Cincinnati. In November, 1815, Drake returned to Philadelphia where, in 1816, he was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with the degree of M.D. He resumed practice in Cincinnati and maintained his official residence there until his death (November 6, 1852), although he taught at various times in Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, in the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and in the Louisville Medical Institute (now University of Louisville, School of Medicine). As previously mentioned he founded the Medical College of Ohio in 1819. Later (1835) he founded the Medical Department of the Cincinnati College which had as its President, William Holmes McGuffey of McGuffey Reader fame.

As an amateur bibliographer I have been working, over a pe-

⁵ Daniel Drake. *Letters on Slavery* (to Dr. John C. Warren, Boston), *National Intelligencer*, Washington, Vol. LII, April 3, 5, and 8, 1851.

⁶ Daniel Drake. *Letters on Slavery to Dr. John C. Warren of Boston. Reprinted . . . with an introduction by Emmet Field Horine*. Schuman's, New York, 1940.

⁷ Otto Juettner. *Daniel Drake and his Followers*. Cincinnati, Harvey Publishing Company [1909], p. 24.

riod of years, on a bibliography of Daniel Drake. This study has convinced me that although Drake was remarkably versatile and a leader in whatever he attempted, he was more passionately fond of teaching than of any other of his pursuits. Perhaps, therefore, a consideration of the portion of his bibliography pertaining to education may be of some interest to you.

Since the time of Konrad Gesner (1516-1565), bibliographers have experienced untold delight on discovering items not previously recorded. Hence, you can imagine my pleasure when I unearthed an item antedating, by two years, Drake's *Notices Concerning Cincinnati*, 1810,⁸ which is mentioned by biographers^{9,10} as his first printed contribution. On July 22, 1807, Drake sent to *The Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal* an article entitled *Some Account of the Epidemic Diseases which prevail at Mays-Lick, in Kentucky*, which appeared in that Journal in 1808.¹¹ For a first attempt at writing, this contribution is unusual in its conciseness and clarity. In a brief and logical manner Drake described an epidemic, probably typhoid fever, which had occurred at Mayslick in the autumn of 1806.

In April of the following year he returned to Cincinnati where he settled permanently and entered immediately into active participation in all civic enterprises. Drake must have helped organize the Cincinnati Lyceum before which, in 1807, he read a paper on *Observations on Debating Societies & the Duties of their Members*. His next appearance before the Cincinnati Lyceum was on April 2nd, 1808, when he read the first of his papers dealing with education entitled *Observations on Physical Studies*. Neither of these

⁸ Daniel Drake. *Notices Concerning Cincinnati*. Cincinnati, Printed for the author, at the Press of John W. Browne & Co., 1810. (Reprinted in the Quarterly of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. III, Nos. 1, 2, 1908.)

⁹ Edward D. Mansfield. *Memoirs of the Life and Services of Daniel Drake*. . . Cincinnati, Applegate & Co., 1855.

¹⁰ Juettner, op. cit.

¹¹ Daniel Drake. *Some Account of the Epidemic Diseases which prevail at Mays-Lick, in Kentucky*. In: *Philadelphia Medical & Physical Journal*, Vol. III (Part I): 85-90, 1808.

papers has been printed but they are treasured in holographic manuscript in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

In 1817 the Chair of Materia Medica and Medical Botany in Transylvania University was offered to Drake and accepted by him. He thus became a member of the first active faculty of Transylvania, the first medical school west of the Alleghenies. This was the beginning of Drake's career as an educator which vocation he followed, with brief interruptions, until his death. When dissension arose at Transylvania, Drake resigned having completed but one course of lectures.

As previously mentioned, he and two colleagues delivered medical lectures in Cincinnati during the winter of 1818, and in January, 1819, Drake obtained a law of incorporation for the Medical College of Ohio. This was the second medical school west of the Alleghenies. The first session opened on November 11, 1820, when Daniel Drake, the President, delivered *An Inaugural Discourse on Medical Education*.¹² In this address Drake advocated an extension to five months of the course of medical study. A four months session was the practice of all other existing medical colleges in the United States. Far in advance of his time he insisted that the student must not confine his researches to the structural changes alone but "... must extend them to the mind itself, and to its operations and effects." In other words, he advocated subjects which we now, over a hundred years later, consider vital to any medical course, namely, psychiatry and psychology.

The necessity for preliminary education was stressed and an especial plea made for the classics:

So deeply impressed are the Faculty of this institution with the neglect of these studies, and the importance of them to the advancement and elevation of the profession, that they have offered an annual prize medal for the best inaugural thesis in the Latin language; and hope by this measure to excite among the students of the west an emulation for excellence in classical literature.

¹² Daniel Drake. *An Inaugural Discourse on Medical Education*. Cincinnati, Looker, Palmer and Reynolds, 1820.

He further advocated bedside teaching and hospital training, both of which we consider so essential to this day. Medical educators of today would do well to acquaint themselves with this discourse on medical education, as well as with the more extended work on the same subject to which I shall later call your attention.

Drake remained President of the Medical College of Ohio for two years, and so over-shadowed his colleagues in ability and personality that jealousies were inevitable. Two of the five members resigned. At the faculty meeting which followed these resignations, transaction of routine financial matters was the first order of business. Then there ensued an ominous silence after which one of the two plotters arose and addressed President Drake to the effect that he had a resolution to offer as follows: "Voted that Daniel Drake, M. D., be dismissed from the Medical College of Ohio." Again silence, broken by the voice of the President asking if there were a second to the resolution. The second plotter arose and said: "I second the motion." The question was put and was carried by the votes of the two voting members present both of whom owed their positions in the faculty to Drake himself. With quiet dignity the deposed President expressed his thanks and departed. The citizens of Cincinnati were so indignant that within a week Drake was reinstated but he promptly resigned. In Drake's *Rise and Fall of the Medical College of Ohio*¹³ which is a serio-comic description of the early days of this institution there occurs a vivid recital of the above incident.

The following year Drake was offered his former Chair in Transylvania University which he accepted. On November 7, 1823, he delivered *An Introductory Lecture on the Necessity and Value of Professional Industry*¹⁴ which revealed further ideas on medical education. I quote from this address:

¹³ Daniel Drake. *A Narrative of the Rise and Fall of the Medical College of Ohio*. Cincinnati, Looker & Reynolds, 1822.

¹⁴ Daniel Drake. *An Introductory Lecture on the Necessity and Value of Professional Industry*. Lexington, Kentucky, William Tanner, 1823 (Reprinted, Chicago, 1937, by J. Christian Bay).

The *pupil*, who dismisses the subject of his researches with the book that guided him, does not deserve the honorable epithet of *student*. When he is fatigued with acquiring, he should pass to rumination; and when that which has been received is appropriated, he will be prepared to return to the fountain, in ceaseless and delightful alternation.

Drake resigned from Transylvania University in 1827, and, returning to Cincinnati, founded *The Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* which soon had a large subscription list throughout the central west. In this journal Drake's famous essays on medical education originally appeared and were later republished with additions, in book format.¹⁵ The essays were as follows: 1. *Selection and Preparatory Education of Pupils*; 2. *Private Pupilage*; 3. *Medical Colleges*; 4. *Studies, Duties, and Interests of Young Physicians*; 5. *Causes of Error in the Medical and Physical Sciences*; 6. *Legislative Enactments*; 7. *Professional Quarrels*. At the time of their publication these remarkable essays did not attract the attention they deserved, possibly because they were so many decades ahead of the time. Fielding H. Garrison, medical historian and one-time librarian of the Army Medical Library believed¹⁶ these essays were "the most important contributions ever made to the subject in this country." Juettner has said: "They are typical of the man, earnest, animated and permeated throughout by an idealism that is inspiring."¹⁷

Drake's interest in education is further evidenced by his active support of The Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers, founded in Cincinnati in 1831. This organization was composed of the most outstanding educators of Cincinnati and the west. Such men as Albert Pickett, father of Cincinnati's public school system; Alexander Kinmont, the classical scholar; William Holmes McGuffey and Alexander Hamilton

¹⁵ Daniel Drake. *Practical Essays on Medical Education, and the Medical Profession, in the United States*. Cincinnati, Roff & Young, 1832.

¹⁶ Fielding H. Garrison. *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 3rd Ed. Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, 1924, p. 465.

¹⁷ Juettner, op. cit., p. 76.

McGuffey, writers of the famous series of readers, were active in the meetings. Among other addresses Drake delivered one on *The Philosophy of Family, School and College Discipline*.¹⁸ In this address there are ideas expressed which are as modern as though it were written yesterday. In contrast to the educators of his day, he recognized and stressed the supreme importance of the home in the whole educational process. He emphasized what teachers have recently proclaimed, namely, that character is caught, *not taught*, and is the result of emulation of those who are admired. Though a firm believer in corporal punishment, provided it were administered in fairness to the child, he, nevertheless, affirmed that rewards were a more effective means of discipline.

Although the public school movement was in its infancy in Drake's time, he propounded the wisdom and the validity of such a system. In 1835 before the Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers, in discussing a report¹⁹ on common schools, he said:

I am not, sir, a civilian, but a physician; nevertheless I have ventured on the conclusion, that a law requiring all parents to educate their children, in certain branches, provided public schools be established, is in strict accordance with the spirit of our Constitution, and the most certain means of perpetuating them. . . . The only defensible ground of a property assessment for the support of schools, for the benefit of those who have no property, is that the latter, if reared in ignorance, may become dangerous to the former, by a direct physical action, or by vicious legislation. . . . It is certainly not a greater stretch of power to require men to educate their children, in a school provided for them, than to compel another to yield up a portion of his earnings for the establishment of such a school. . . . Is it not a higher and a nobler duty to bring into requisition the vast mental resources of a nation, than its mineral treasures? the productions of its soil?

¹⁸ Daniel Drake. *Discourse on the Philosophy of Family, School, and College Discipline*, Transactions of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers held in Cincinnati, October 1834. Cincinnati, Josiah Drake, 1835, pp. 31-62.

¹⁹ Daniel Drake. *Discussion (of Report by Samuel Lewis on the best Method of Establishing and Forming Common Schools in the West)*, Transactions of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers, held in Cincinnati, October, 1835. Cincinnati, Published by the Executive Committee, 1836, pp. 172-175.

In other discussions^{20, 21, 22} before this Institute he is revealed as an astute, far-sighted, and a remarkably sensible educator.

Drake may be said to have fostered the Kentucky School for the Blind which was established in Louisville on May 5, 1842, and has since remained in successful operation. During the winter of 1841-1842 he delivered a series of popular lectures on physiology in which he discussed the different methods of teaching the blind, and urged the establishment of a school for them in Kentucky. One of his hearers soon after introduced in the Legislature a bill for this purpose which was passed after some delay.²³

Between courses of lectures Drake traveled extensively (covering over 30,000 miles) through lower Canada, the lake region, the Mississippi Valley and the southern states. While his primary purpose was to obtain first hand information relative to the diseases of the inhabitants, he was interested in everything and especially in education. He noted particularly the libraries and other physical equipment as well as methods of teaching in the medical colleges. He often carried on his editorial duties during the summer months by writing letters to his journal which were labeled "traveling editorials." These letters contain sprightly accounts of many things he saw and at times were actually gossipy. Although hurriedly written, their flowing style and clearness of presentation make them models. The following statement will illustrate my point especially because it antedated, by about seventy years, a somewhat similar one made by Sir William Osler: "The period of greatest usefulness, in the life of a physician, ex-

²⁰ Daniel Drake. *Discussion (of an Address by C. E. Stowe on Education in Immigrants)*, *ibid.*, pp. 80-84.

²¹ Daniel Drake. *Discussion (of Report by Alexander Kinmont on Anatomy and Physiology as a Branch of Study in Schools)*, *ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

²² Daniel Drake. *Report on the best Method of Introducing and Prosecuting the Study of Anatomy and Physiology*, Transactions of the sixth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers, held in Cincinnati, October, 1836. Cincinnati, Published by the Executive Committee, 1837, pp. 235-237.

²³ Daniel Drake. [Editorial]. *Kentucky School for the Instruction of the Blind*, Western Jr. of Medicine and Surgery [Louisville], V: 237, March, 1842.

tends from forty to sixty—he is not a man of wisdom before the former, nor of energy, after the latter term.”²⁴

The multiplicity of poorly equipped medical schools is deplored in one of his letters:²⁵ “Everywhere I go, our brethren are crying out against the multiplication of medical schools. But to what end? Who can arrest it? The medical school diathesis of the profession and the States, is like some morbid actions ‘self-limited,’ and must be left to correct itself.” This was one instance in which Drake was mistaken because the evil of too many medical schools had not corrected itself even after sixty-six years. It required the Flexner report²⁶ to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching followed by intelligent action on the part of the American Medical Association to eradicate the abuses. In Canada, Drake found conditions better, for in writing of McGill he says: “For myself, I specially approve of the long sessions, the demand for preliminary learning, and the exacted attendance on the lectures.”²⁷

As Chairman of a Committee Drake submitted to the Medical Convention of Ohio in 1838 a most remarkable set of resolutions²⁸ concerning the organization and administration of medical schools which were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the sessions of the different Medical Schools, throughout the Union, are too short, and that they

²⁴ Daniel Drake. *Traveling Memoranda*, Western Jr. of the Medical and Physical Sciences [Cincinnati], X: 311-319, July, August and September, 1836.

²⁵ Daniel Drake. *Traveling Letters from the Senior Editor*, No. VII, Peoria, Illinois, September 17, 1844, *The Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, New Series, Vol. II: 445-451, November, 1844.

²⁶ Abraham Flexner. *Medical Education in the United States and Canada. A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. With an Introduction by Henry S. Pritchett*. . . . New York, 1910.

²⁷ Daniel Drake. *Traveling Letter from the Senior Editor*, *The Western Jr. of Medicine and Surgery* [Louisville], New Series VIII: 455-461, November, 1847.

²⁸ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Medical Convention of Ohio*, at its Second Session, begun and held in the City of Columbus, on the first day of January, 1838. Cincinnati, Pugh & Dodd, 1838, p. 17.

ought to be extended one month, and the students required to stay to the end of the term.

2. *Resolved*, That the number of Professorships is too few, and that ampler provision should be made for teaching Physiology, Pathological Anatomy, Pharmacy, and the Natural History of Medicines, Botany, comparative Anatomy, Meteorology, Medical Jurisprudence, and Mental Physiology.

3. *Resolved*, That, if practicable, our Medical Schools should be so organized, as that Students, in their first course, would have their attention chiefly directed upon special Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Pharmacy, and the other elementary branches; and their second upon Pathological Anatomy, Therapeutics, the practice of Physic, Surgery and Obstetrics.

4. *Resolved*, That in admitting Candidates to examination for degrees, a stricter regard than is at present shown, should be had to their preliminary education.

5. *Resolved*, That the practice of graduating young men before they are 21 years of age should be abandoned.

6. *Resolved*, That no Pupil ought to be graduated before the end of four years, from the time he commenced the study of Medicine.

7. *Resolved*, That, if the various Schools of the Union, were to send representatives to a meeting at some central point, to confer together, many of their existing defects, by a simultaneous, co-operative effort, might be successfully remedied, and that we, respectfully, recommend such a Convention to be held. Till when it would not be practicable, nor should it be expected that any single institution will attempt the reforms which are here proposed.

8. *Resolved*, That the corresponding Secretary be instructed to send a printed copy of the proceedings to this Convention, to all the Medical Institutions of the United States, with a letter, calling the attention of their Professors to these Resolutions.

Of these resolutions, each indicating a forward step, not a single one has failed of ultimate fulfillment.

Drake's views on education reveal an understanding which is astonishing. However, it is even more surprising that, whatever the subject, Drake's ideas are always in advance of his time. Sensitive and poetic, he wrote very creditable poems. His prose displayed a diction which was strikingly incisive and direct, affording an effective vehicle for keenest sarcasm, when he so desired; or on occasion, for genuine pathos. In view of his amazing versatility and remarkable abilities, there can be no question

concerning his genius. Active as he was in every forward movement, one must agree with Venable²⁹ when he says of Drake: "So many good works did he undertake, so much did he accomplish, so effectually did he stimulate exertion in others, both friends and enemies, that I think he may be called with propriety the *Franklin of Cincinnati*."

²⁹ W. H. Venable. *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, Historical and Biographical Sketches*. Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1891, p. 304.

THE PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES OF ROBERT CLARKE & CO., OF CIN- CINNATI, 1858-1909

By CHARLES H. McMULLEN¹

THE original records of the settlement of the Ohio River Valley are largely in the form of newspapers and official publications of the period and the journals and letters written by explorers, traders and settlers. By the close of the Civil War, many of these records had been lost or scattered, and men who remembered early events in the region were dying, with the result that much of the source material for the study of the Valley's early history was gradually disappearing. The first agency of any importance in the gathering and publication of this early material was the firm of Robert Clarke & Co.

Besides historical books, the Clarke Company published law and miscellaneous books, operated a wholesale and retail bookstore, printed books for individuals and societies, issued blank books and legal forms, and sold stationery of all kinds. This paper is confined to a study of the firm's publishing activities.

Two factors were of primary importance in the growth of this Cincinnati publishing house: first, a period of city-wide interest in things literary and artistic which coincided with the most prosperous years of the company's existence, and second, the interests and abilities of Robert Clarke, president of the firm during all but ten years of its life.

¹ Abridgment of a thesis presented as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at the University of Illinois.

Before the Civil War, Cincinnati, like other Middle Western towns, grew so rapidly that its people had little time for the pursuit of literature and the arts; after the War, her population and industrial life expanded less rapidly, and many Cincinnatians became interested in cultural activities of various sorts. This movement had its climax in the eighteen-seventies and provided an excellent background for the development of the bookstore and publishing business of Robert Clarke & Co.

Robert Clarke, the man whose interests and abilities constituted the second factor in the development of the firm, was born in Annan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, in 1829. His father, an engraver by trade, brought his family to Cincinnati in 1840, where young Clarke was educated. As early as 1854 the young man had become junior partner in the bookselling firm of Patterson & Clarke. In 1857 he bought Patterson's interest in the store² and a year later, with two partners, organized the firm of Robert Clarke & Co.

Clarke was a man of wide interests; recognized in his day as an expert in the literature of American history and archeology, he yet had time to maintain an active interest in subjects as widely separated as philology and fishing. A large personal library formed the basis for his varied studies; one part of it is now in the University of Cincinnati Library; a collection of Clarke's Americana forms the basic collection in the Rutherford B. Hayes Memorial Library at Fremont, Ohio; a collection of his books on fishing is now in the Field Museum Library in Chicago; and his personal copies of the books printed by the Clarke firm are now in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

Aside from his book collecting activities, Clarke's wide interests are indicated in the historical, archaeological and scientific

² Moses King, ed. *King's pocket book of Cincinnati*. Cincinnati, Shillito & Co., 1879. p. 68.

societies of which he was an active member and in the number and variety of his personal friendships.

The firm of Robert Clarke & Co. was organized in 1858 by Robert Clarke, Roderick D. Barney and John W. Dale mainly for the purpose of buying the law book business of H. W. Derby & Co., a Cincinnati firm. To this partnership, Robert Clarke brought an established business in second-hand and imported books. The second partner, Roderick D. Barney, had been employed by H. W. Derby & Co. when he was sixteen years old and had acquired six years' experience with that firm when he and his partners entered business for themselves. Little could be discovered by the writer about John W. Dale, the third partner; he probably acted as treasurer of the Clarke firm from its beginning until some time after the fire of 1903.³

The Clarke firm opened for business at 55 West Fourth Street, in the quarters which had been occupied by Derby. The writer has found no evidence indicating that Robert Clarke & Co. began publishing in 1858, but he found records of eight books published by the firm in 1859. Four of these are editions of legal treatises which had been published earlier by other firms; of the four remaining books, one is a manual on the use of the microscope, another a "mercantile arithmetic," another a sermon, and the last a collection of dialogues.

A contemporary account of the activities of Robert Clarke & Co. during this early period is contained in Charles Cist's *Sketches of Cincinnati in 1859*.⁴ According to Cist, the firm's line of law treatises and reports was the most important in the West; however, this does not reflect greatly to the credit of Robert Clarke & Co. as publishers, because most of the books that Cist mentions had been published by Derby. Cist says that the new firm did not

³ Statement made to the writer by Charles Hughes of Cincinnati, formerly an employee of Robert Clarke & Co.

⁴ Charles Cist, *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1859*. n.p., 1859? pp. 317-319.

manufacture the books published over its imprint, but had them printed and bound by contract. The relatively large amount of space which Cist gives to a discussion of the importing and retail activities of the firm would seem to indicate that its publishing business was unimportant in comparison with its other activities.

During the Civil War, the firm published an average of about ten books a year; during the first few years after the War, the number increased and the firm printed, on an average, between twenty-five and thirty books each year until its dissolution in 1909.

By the year 1867 the increasing volume of the company's business justified its removal to larger quarters at 65 West Fourth Street.⁵ In the same year the house issued the first volume of *Fisher's Patent Cases*, a set of reports of cases concerning patents which had been determined in the circuit courts of the United States. These reports achieved considerable notoriety in legal circles as the highest priced law books published in America. The set consisted of six volumes published during the years 1867-1874, at a price of \$25.00 per volume.

In 1868 the firm issued the first book bearing on the title-page the phrase "Robert Clarke & Co., printers." As no evidence has been found indicating that the firm actually printed any books before this date, it seems probable that the firm's removal to larger quarters in 1867 made possible the installation of its own presses.

It was in the year 1868 that Robert Clarke & Co. began the publication of the historical books that first brought the firm to the attention of students in other parts of the country. In this year the company issued reprints in limited editions of four rare old items of interest in connection with United States history. One of these, a pamphlet, originally printed in London in 1781, has the

⁵ Moses King, ed. *King's pocket book of Cincinnati*. Cincinnati, Shillito & Co., 1859. p. 68.

title: *An Appeal to the Public on behalf of Cameria (America), a Young Lady who was almost Ruined by the Barbarous Treatment of her own Mother*. Another pamphlet, first printed in London in 1800, has a long title which begins *Some Account of an existing Correspondence now carrying on between the Inhabitants of the Moon, and the Natives of this Country*. The third of these reprints, *Logan the last of the Race of Shikellemus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation*, was a "dramatic piece" recited at the Buffaloe Seminary in 1821 by Joseph Doddridge, a missionary who travelled through the Ohio Valley in the early days. Clarke's reprint was taken from the 1823 edition and was published for William Dodge.

A fourth historical reprint issued by the Clarke Company in 1868 was Dr. William Smith's *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in 1764*, a reprint of a book published in England in 1766. The large type is well leaded, and the margins are wide; the use of both red and black ink on the title-page, by giving life to a conservative type-face, produces a pleasing effect. An added title-page is a facsimile of that of the original edition.

The *Ohio Valley Historical Series*, of which *Bouquet's Expedition* was the first volume, was issued in seven volumes between the years 1868 and 1871.⁶ A prospectus was sent out in April, 1868, in an attempt to determine how such a series would be received. The result must have been favorable, for *Bouquet's Expedition* appeared in the same year. All of the books in the *Series* contain accounts of events in the early history of the Ohio River Valley, many of them given by men who participated in the events re-

⁶ The seven books in the *Series* are as follows:

- No. 1. *Bouquet's Expedition*, by William Smith, 1868.
- No. 2. *History of Athens County, Ohio*, by Charles M. Walker, 1869.
- No. 3. *Sketch of his campaign in the Illinois*, by George Rogers Clark, 1869.
- No. 4. *Pioneer Biographies*, by James McBride, 2 v., 1869, 1871.
- No. 5. *Captivity with the Indians*, by James Smith, 1870.
- No. 6. *Pioneer life in Kentucky*, by Daniel Drake, 1870.
- No. 7. *Ohio Valley Historical Series. Miscellanies*, 1871.

lated. Robert Clarke personally edited the *Series*, writing a biographical sketch of Col. James Smith which occupies the first few pages of Smith's *Captivity with the Indians*, the fifth volume in the group.⁷

The *Ohio Valley Series* was well received by critics and students in the East as an important contribution in the field of American local history. According to the *American Booksellers' Guide* it was bought by all the more important libraries and historical societies of the United States.⁸ Considerably less enthusiasm was shown by the bookbuying public of the Middle West, whose approval would have been necessary for its financial success. In the tactfully worded Valedictory in the final volume, the editor says of the *Series*:

It was not undertaken with the expectation of pecuniary profit, though it was hoped that sufficient interest could be developed in its object to receive such a patronage as would reimburse to the publishers their outlay.

He goes on to say that the comparative coolness with which the inhabitants of the Ohio Valley itself received the *Series* had made necessary its termination with the seventh volume, contrary to the publishers' expectations.

With the publication of the *Ohio Valley Historical Series*, a prosperous era in Robert Clarke & Co.'s history began, which lasted until about 1894, the year in which the firm was incorporated as The Robert Clarke Company.

During these years the largest class of publications issued by Robert Clarke & Co. consisted of law books. Editions of the revised statutes and Supreme Court reports of Ohio and Kentucky were issued frequently, and manuals for the use of various public officers in these states appeared in edition after edition. Books dealing with the laws of West Virginia, Tennessee, and Indiana were issued on a less extensive scale, and the firm advertised widely a series of standard legal texts which included Mon-

⁷ P. G. Thomson. *Bibliography of Ohio*. Cincinnati, the author, 1880. p. 313.

⁸ *American Booksellers' Guide*. v. 4, p. 115. Apr. 1, 1872.

tesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* and Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*.

Historical books appeared at the rate of one or two a year, similar in content and format to the *Ohio Valley Series*. Books of poetry, also, appeared regularly; with few exceptions they were the work of local poets and contained poetry of such quality as to arouse only local interest. Books of literary criticism were issued from time to time: of these, William H. Venable's *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, published in 1891, has remained one of the most valuable works on its subject, and J. Appleton Morgan's *The Shakespearian Myth*, first published by Clarke in 1881, went through three editions in the United States and was also published in England.

Judging by the number of printings required, several very practical books were among the most popular which Robert Clarke & Co. published. William Russell's *Scientific Horseshoeing*, first published in 1879, went through seven editions during the firm's history; between 1879 and 1905 the firm sold twenty-five thousand copies of a cook book, *Housekeeping in the Bluegrass*; and by 1907 Clarke had issued fifteen editions of *Benner's Prophecies of Future Ups and Downs in Prices*.

Almost all of the publications of Robert Clarke & Co. issued in these years between 1867 and 1894 made their appearance bound in the same green pebbled cloth. Green is said to have been Robert Clarke's favorite color, and although this same style of cloth was used occasionally by other publishers, it was used so much by the company that it became almost a Clarke trade-mark in the eyes of booksellers in the Ohio Valley.

As mentioned above, Robert Clarke & Co. was in 1894 incorporated as The Robert Clarke Company. The history of the firm from its incorporation to its final dissolution in a receiver's sale in 1909 may conveniently be divided into two parts; the first including the years from 1894 to 1903, the date of a fire which

destroyed the firm's plant, and the second including the years from 1903 to the end in 1909.

George M. Roe, in a book written soon after the incorporation of the firm, says that The Robert Clarke Company was formed "in order to satisfy certain business conveniences."⁹ One of these "business conveniences" had to do with the desire of Robert Clarke, at that time sixty-five years of age, to devote less of his time to the affairs of the firm and more to study and travel.¹⁰ It is possible, also, that the incorporation of the firm was a move in the direction of economy or efficiency which was made advisable by business conditions resulting from the panic of 1893. The board of directors of the new corporation was made up of the partners of the old company. Robert Clarke was president of the firm until his death in 1899 when Roderick D. Barney assumed that office.

During the period from 1894 to 1903, the number of titles published by the company showed a marked decline; during almost every year of this period the number of titles published was two or three less than during the previous year.

Among the law books fewer new titles were published, although new editions of many of the firm's manuals and treatises were reprinted from time to time in this period. During these years more of the Clarke Company's legal manuals and treatises were written by Florien Giauque, a Cincinnati lawyer, than by any other author. After the publication of an edition of the *Revised Statutes of Ohio* in 1897, the firm seems to have discontinued almost entirely the publication of compilations or digests of laws.

From 1894 until 1899, the year of Robert Clarke's death, the firm continued to publish books concerning the early history of

⁹ G. M. Roe, ed. *Cincinnati: the Queen City of the West*. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Times-Star, 1895. p. 212.

¹⁰ Statement made to the writer by Mrs. W. M. Galt of Glendale, Ohio, in June, 1938.

the Ohio Valley. Typical of these was *Recollections of Life in Ohio, from 1813 to 1840*, published in 1895 and written by William Cooper Howells, the father of William Dean Howells.

In the general decline of The Robert Clarke Company's publishing activities between 1894 and 1903, the publication of books in the field of general literature remained more nearly at the earlier level than did the publishing of other types of books. However, few of the books of the "literary" type which the firm published during these years have received national recognition. The only book of this kind which required more than one edition to supply the demand was a novel, *Etidorhpa*, written by John Uri Lloyd, a Cincinnati chemist and manufacturer. This book, first published in 1896, went through five editions in that year; by 1900 ten editions had been issued. The plot of this strange novel was laid far in the future; curiously enough, several of the changes which Lloyd predicted for a future age have already come to pass in the discovery of argon, radium, helium, and x-rays, and in the use of the fluoroscope.¹¹

The most spectacular event in the history of The Robert Clarke Company occurred on the morning of February 26, 1903, when the building which the firm occupied was destroyed by fire. The fire originated in the Pike Opera House Building, nearby, and destroyed more than half a block of the center of the city before it was stopped. One of the most exciting moments of the fire was provided by the fall of the Clarke printing presses. When the flames had weakened the building sufficiently, the presses dropped from the fifth floor to the basement, carrying everything with them. Sparks shot into the air, and one news reporter wrote, "A rush of sound as though Jove had thrown his heaviest thunderbolt was heard."¹²

¹¹ *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. v. 13, p. 67. "John Uri Lloyd."

¹² *Cincinnati Times-Star*. Feb. 26, 1903. p. 2, col. 3.

By the day after the fire, the company had opened an office at No. 18 East Fourth Street, nearly opposite the burned building. The firm did not open a retail store, nor invest in a printing establishment, but made arrangements to have many of its books reprinted, some from the plates saved from the fire, and some from new plates. During the next two years few new titles were published.

In 1905 Jay F. Laning, a law book publisher of Norwalk, Ohio, acquired a controlling interest in The Robert Clarke Company.¹³ After he became connected with it, printing for the Clarke firm was done in Norwalk, Ohio, by another firm under Laning's control.

In the same year that Laning acquired control of the Clarke company, a retail book and stationery store was opened by the firm on Government Square, Cincinnati, with Alexander Hill as manager.¹⁴

From the time of Laning's entrance into the firm in 1905 until the end of the firm's existence in 1909, few new titles were published; in 1907 Laning reprinted several of the historical books that had helped to establish the reputation of the house some thirty years earlier, and new editions of the firm's law books were published until 1908. One of the most popular of the Clarke books during these years was H. M. Chittenden's *The Yellowstone Park* which went through five editions between 1895 and 1905.

The final event in the history of The Robert Clarke Company was the receiver's sale in August, 1909, at which the property of the firm was divided between two bidders. The train of circumstances which brought about this sale began as early as 1903, when the plant of the Laning Printing Company, in Norwalk,

¹³ Statement made to the writer by Mr. Charles Hughes, of Cincinnati, in June, 1938.

¹⁴ *Publishers' Weekly*, v. 68, p. 1109, Oct. 28, 1905.

was destroyed by fire. In order to rebuild, the company negotiated several loans, some of which were to be repaid in 1907. The shortage of money due to the financial panic of that year prevented the Laning company from satisfying its creditors, with the result that a receiver was appointed.¹⁵ By the early part of 1908, the Clarke company was in financial difficulties, probably as a result of the failure of Laning's Norwalk enterprise.

A receiver was appointed for the Clarke firm, in February, 1908, but his management of its business affairs was so unsatisfactory in the eyes of the firm's creditors that by the summer of 1909, after much litigation, the creditors forced the receiver to advertise the business for sale.¹⁶ In August of that year they accepted a bid of \$36,250 made by the W. H. Anderson Company of Cincinnati, for the law books and copyrights of the firm; and a bid of \$15,000 for the rest of the stock, the equipment, and the right to use the firm's name, from W. K. Stewart, an Indianapolis bookseller.¹⁷

On January 1, 1910, W. K. Stewart took John G. Kidd into partnership. Until the summer of 1911 the business was run as The Robert Clarke Book Store; for the next three years the name was The Robert Clarke Book Store, Stewart Kidd Company. The phrase, The Robert Clarke Book Store, was soon dropped and since the fall of 1935, when Mr. Kidd bought Mr. Stewart's interest in the store, the business has been operated as John G. Kidd & Son, Inc.

With the receiver's sale in 1909, the publishing activities of The Clarke Company came to an end. The firm's chief claim to distinction lies in its publication of materials pertaining to the early history of the Ohio River Valley. Its preëminence in this field was largely due to the intense interest in American local

¹⁵ Letter from Mr. S. R. Laning of Norwalk, Ohio, to the writer, dated May 16, 1939.

¹⁶ *Publishers' Weekly*, v. 76, p. 60. July 10, 1909.

¹⁷ *Publishers' Weekly*, v. 76, p. 468. Aug. 28, 1909.

history of its president, Robert Clarke. During all except the last few years of its existence its publications covered a wide variety of subjects, mostly books of a serious nature, contributions to the world's store of printed knowledge.

LINCOLN BIBLIOGRAPHY— ITS PRESENT STATUS AND NEEDS

By ERNEST J. WESSEN

WHAT is, and what is not *Lincolniana*? For over thirty years the Lincoln experts have been splitting hairs on the question of what should be included, or excluded, from a Lincoln bibliography. In the meantime we remain without an authoritative work on this, one of the most voluminous and important branches of Americana.

No one knows how many books have been written relating to Abraham Lincoln. One *Lincolnian* placed the number at five thousand; while another specialist thought nine thousand might be a more accurate figure. Alas! both possess widely divergent views as to what falls within that term "*Lincolniana*." The important fact is that the task of preparing a bibliography of those books is a gigantic and complex one, and the passage of the years but adds to the difficulties.

Our historians may turn to quite complete compilations of Lincoln's speeches and letters. Fairly authentic lists of medals, photographs and prints are available. Lincoln's day-by-day movements have been recorded in that superb work, *Lincoln 1854-1861*, by Paul M. Angle, and the subsequent volumes issued by The Abraham Lincoln Association. In addition to providing a current Lincoln bibliography, occasional numbers of the weekly broadside, *Lincoln Lore*, edited by Louis A. Warren, provide valuable though fragmentary studies of *Lincolniana*; for instance: a list of the various editions of the so-called *Lincoln*—

Douglas Debates, Columbus, 1860; the various issues of the *New York Herald* for April 15, 1865—that Ulster County Gazette of Lincolniana; and even a list of the variant issues of Lincoln pennies. All these and more we have; yet we have no comprehensive bibliography.

Strangely enough no bibliographical project ever enjoyed a more auspicious start. William V. Spencer, of Boston, must have commenced work on his *Lincolniana, In Memoriam*, almost before the ink was dry on the many orations and sermons listed by him. If the work itself was no great contribution to bibliography, it was of value in that it probably served to stimulate the interest of an eighteen-year-old boy, one Charles Henry Hart. Young as he was, Hart at this time was serving as Corresponding Secretary of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. Before the close of the year 1865 he was painstakingly gathering the material for his *Sermons, Orations and Addresses occasioned by the Death of Abraham Lincoln*.

Young Hart's procedure was characteristic of the man who would later gain world-wide recognition as an outstanding art authority. He sought for and wrote the authors of the works which were to be included in his list. In a footnote to the introduction to his work we are told that he wrote over twelve hundred such letters, and received eight hundred and fifty in reply. Among his correspondents was William H. Herndon—Lincoln's law partner. In his correspondence with Herndon we find a splendid illustration of his method.¹ On June 29, 1866, Herndon wrote Hart as follows:

Let me suggest one lecture. The title reads thus—*The Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln—A Lecture by Hon. Mark W. Delahay of Leavenworth, Kansas*. Mr. Delahay is Judge of the District Court of Kansas—a U. S. Court. I hold the lecture in my hand and copy the title.

Here was information sufficient to satisfy a less thorough worker,

¹ Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln* (New York, 1938).

but not young Hart. It was not until two years later that he received a letter from Delahay, telling of his friendship with Lincoln, and providing an account of how he came to have the work printed.² Let me say, parenthetically, that it will be most illuminating to follow the vicissitudes of this particular entry at the hands of the next Lincoln bibliographer.

Hart was not content with supplying the bare transcription of the title-pages of his entries, and such meager information as was required by the bibliographical standards of that day. Not only did he include many notes similar to Delahay's, but he acquired authentic information as to the number of issues of each work, and the number of copies published; a valuable and perhaps unique feature of his work.

Hart had arranged that his bibliography appear as a supplement to a life of Lincoln which Herndon planned to publish in the late sixties. However, the publication of Herndon's work was to hang fire for twenty years. In 1870, Hart, tired of waiting, joined forces with Andrew Boyd, the Albany, New York, publisher of city directories, and an enthusiastic Lincoln collector. In that year Boyd published their joint effort under the title: *A Memorial Lincoln Bibliography: Being an Account of Books, Eulogies, Sermons, Portraits, Engravings, Medals, etc., Published upon Abraham Lincoln . . . Comprising a Collection in the Possession of the Compiler, Andrew Boyd.*

Hart's work occupies the first half of this book, and remains to this day the best source for bibliographical information on the eulogies, funeral orations and sermons.

No doubt the book would today rate only as a bibliographical curiosity, but for Hart's heavy contribution. However, Boyd's share must not be underestimated. He lists a great many very rare items of Lincolniana. He accounts for a number of important broadsides which are recorded in no other work that I know of. Although, due to poor arrangement, they are most elusive,

² Andrew Boyd, *A Memorial Lincoln Bibliography* (Albany, N. Y., 1870), p. 42.

Boyd's notes are valuable. He succeeded in determining the priority of the editions of several books.

There are those who have said that this book was the genesis of Lincoln bibliography. As will be seen, it was substantially more than that. Omitting many of the valuable notes provided by Hart, reversing Boyd's correct decisions as to the priority of the editions of some books, overlooking a number of important entries, Daniel Fish, whose work is currently accepted, found, between the covers of this book, eighty per cent of the entries which went into the first edition of his *Lincoln Bibliography*.

In passing it should be pointed out that the work of Boyd and Hart was truly a labor of love. Well printed by Joel Munsell, finely bound in three-quarters morocco, the book was published in a trade edition large enough to meet the immediate demand. Although according to Boyd's prospectus the actual production cost of the book was \$4.25 per copy, it was sold at \$5.00 (with the exception of ten copies on large paper which were priced at \$10.00).

It was unfortunate that Hart's interest in Lincolniana did not extend beyond the funeral orations, sermons and eulogies. This young lawyer, whose word on matters pertaining to historical portraiture would soon be accepted as decisive on both sides of the Atlantic, was qualified to produce a model bibliography. He could have received but scant encouragement from the Lincolnians of his day, for it is doubtful if they felt a real need for a bibliography such as he would have produced.

For the early Lincoln collector was not one who confined his activities to books alone. On the contrary he was possessed of a flaming sentimental urge to own every conceivable object which would serve as a souvenir of his beloved Lincoln. In his eyes that relic most closely associated with the martyred President was the most valuable item in his collection. In the preface to his bibliography, Andrew Boyd boasted that he owned the largest Lincoln collection extant. We know that he owned a superb collection of

autograph material, as well as an impressive array of books, pamphlets and broadsides, not to mention his prints and original photographs. In addition to all of this, he catalogues with apparent pride a piece of the wallpaper from the theatre box in which Lincoln was shot, a bit of cloth which had been used to stop the flow of blood, and a couple of choice feathers from the pillow upon which he died. This penchant for grisly relics seems to have been general.

Had Major William H. Lambert never turned to Lincolniana, his name would have endured among bookmen as the man who had brought together one of the most important Thackeray collections. But Lambert was also interested in Lincoln, and assembled one of the greatest collections ever owned by a private individual. Yet even this dyed-in-the-wool bookman yielded to the lure of Lincoln relics. He owned a piece of fence-rail said to have been cut by the Great Rail-splitter, and a bit of brick from the Springfield home. These were but trifles. Alongside these bits of bric-a-brac were to be found a cuff-button worn by Lincoln at the time he was shot, a matted lock of hair removed from his head after he had been shot, and a piece of silver fringe from the hearse.

So long as this interest in gruesome tid-bits predominated, there was not likely to exist any great demand for a Lincoln bibliography. Hence we are not surprised to learn that the next person to submit a contribution to Lincoln bibliography failed to find a publisher. I am informed that the New York State Library has the original, unpublished manuscript of Mary Louisa Sutliff's *Bibliography of Poems relating to Abraham Lincoln*, which was completed in 1893. I know nothing of the scope or merit of the work, and mention it here only as a matter of record.

In 1893 many new collectors had entered the field, and these now sought to acquire as many books as possible relating to Lincoln. If the vogue for relics had diminished because of the scarcity of authentic material, the sentimental urge remained.

These new collectors cared not a whit about edition, asking only that the book or pamphlet be a legitimate item of Lincolniana. But what was Lincolniana? Hundreds if not thousands of titles were available. Many of these were indubitably Lincolniana; others related to Lincoln in part only; while others pertained to the events in which he had participated. Each collector had his own ideas, drew his lines accordingly, and no two were in complete agreement.

Such was the chaotic condition in the field when Daniel Fish, of Minneapolis, began assembling what he referred to as "a respectable collection of Lincoln literature." This seems to have been around the year 1895. As a collector Fish made rapid progress. By the year 1900 he had become one of the country's leading collectors of Lincolniana. It was in that year that he provided the answer to the Lincoln collector's prayer, by publishing his *Lincoln Literature a Bibliographical Account of Books and Pamphlets relating to Abraham Lincoln*.

This work was issued in a limited edition of one hundred and sixty copies to sell at three dollars and a half. Herein was included only such books and pamphlets as "pertained wholly or chiefly to the man [Lincoln]; his character and services, his life and death." Broad-sides were rejected on the grounds that they "shed no appreciable light upon the person to whom they refer, nor do they disclose the opinions of any known individual concerning him."

Whatever fault may be found with the book, it served one purpose: Fish had fenced-in what he considered a "respectable collection of Lincoln literature." Here was the collecting-pattern which many collectors had been seeking, and many more would follow to the letter in the years to come. Almost overnight Fish found himself the accepted arbiter of what did and did not constitute Lincolniana. Frequently he referred to the contents of this book, and its ensuing edition, as "the standard collection."

In February, 1910, he said:³ "I try to define the limits of legitimate Lincolniana in the one class of books and brochures, while they [collectors] 'cuss' because I omit some doubtful item for which they have been induced to exchange good money."

And he did not exaggerate. If it was not in "Fish" it was worthless. To this day there are Lincoln collectors—those who should know better—who slavishly follow the last edition of Fish, collecting only what they refer to as "Fish items." Of vastly more importance, there are some librarians, and not a few eminent Lincolnians, who feel that all that is required is to bring Fish down to date. On the other hand there are leading collectors and librarians who have found the work to be unreliable and of little practical use.

Now the opinion of the Lincolnians is something to be reckoned with. It was recently estimated that there were two thousand active Lincoln collectors in this country. I think five hundred would be more accurate. *The American Library Directory*⁴ lists nineteen libraries with special Lincoln collections. Among these specialists—and naturally in outside circles—Fish has become so firmly entrenched that he may be dislodged only by a thorough examination of his work.

Fish's approach to the preparation of his bibliography was that of the private collector, one seeking to lay down the limits of his own collecting activities. The first edition bears evidence that it was originally compiled as a combination catalogue of his own collection, and a want-list of the books which he sought. Opposite half of the entries appears an asterisk, the explanation of which at the foot of page one reads:

Titles followed by the asterisk are not in the compiler's collection. Persons owning such, and willing to part with them, will kindly communicate the fact.

As a checklist it was a perfectly legitimate piece of work. When

³ *Proceedings of the Second and Third Annual Meetings of the Lincoln Fellowship* (New York, 1909-1910), p. 37.

⁴ *The American Library Directory* (New York, 1935).

Fish permitted it to be published as *A Bibliographical Account of Books and Pamphlets Relating to Abraham Lincoln*, he was going too far.

Hardly a page of the book was tarnished by the taint of original research. As previously pointed out eighty per cent of the entries were lifted from Boyd's bibliography, with Hart's consent. The small balance was made up of a sadly incomplete list of the books which had been published subsequent to Boyd, together with a few rarities the titles of which were supplied by Major Lambert. He made not the slightest effort to survey the great mass of available literature, and determine which titles—according to his own test—should be admitted, and which should be rejected.

In the absence of a more complete and satisfactory work, it naturally follows that Fish has proven of value as a subject bibliography. But those who view the work from that angle alone will find ample evidence that it was not compiled for that purpose. "A bibliographical account," he called it. It is a bibliographical account in which was shown an almost complete disregard for variant issues, and something akin to contempt for first editions. Repeatedly he provides us with the description of a late edition, and supplies a footnote mentioning the existence of one or more earlier editions. Time and again he transcribes title-pages which contain thereon information to the effect that thousands of copies had been previously issued. Considered as but a collector's checklist it is a shoddy makeshift.

Fish's slovenly work is not to be excused on the ground that the rank and file of his fellow Lincoln collectors were not interested in acquiring first editions. If the work is to be correctly appraised it must be judged in the light of normal bibliographical standards. It is with this thought in mind that I offer a few examples of Fish's technique, taken of course from the first edition of his work.

I have mentioned that Fish placed an asterisk opposite each title in his bibliography which was not in his own collection. This

enables us to learn something of his procedure. Invariably he chose to enter the description of the book on his own shelves regardless of how late an edition it might be, and this even though an equally complete description of the first edition was available.

On page 126 appears Townsend's *The Life, Crime and Capture of John Wilkes Booth*. For this entry he has chosen the eighty-page edition—which was in his own collection—and a footnote reads: "An earlier edition, pp 64, and another pp 65." Yet before him lay Boyd's *Bibliography*, and therein was to be found an equally complete description of the first—sixty-five page—edition, as well as a note detailing the difference between this and the later edition entered by Fish.

He lists, on page 30, Browne's *The Everyday Life of Abraham Lincoln*, New York, 1887, which is also indicated as being in his collection. Again we have one of his notes, this time reading: "An earlier edition of 1886 bears imprint of Park Publishing Company."

Both of the above titles are quite scarce. But Fish accords similar treatment to one of the most common Lincoln titles. He describes an edition separated from the first by a span of nearly twenty years: on page 34 we find Carpenter's *The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln. Six Months in the White House*. Twenty-seventh thousand, Boston, 1883. Below this we have the illuminating note: "First published in 1866, by Hurd and Houghton as 'Six Months in the White House with Abraham Lincoln.'"

I am completely at a loss to account for his somewhat erratic treatment of the bibliographical notes supplied by Boyd and Hart. Turning to page 26, under Boston, we find *A Memorial of Abraham Lincoln, Late President of the United States*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1865. A quarto of one hundred and fifty-three pages. This time he follows Hart's notes in part, and provides a list of the bastard titles, but completely ignores that section of Hart's notes, reading:

Of the above, 900 copies were printed in octavo, 150 in royal octavo, 100 in quarto and bound in full morocco, and 200 in quarto with the imprint of Ticknor & Fields.

Fish condenses this information to read: "The bulk of the edition issued in 8vo without publisher's imprint." There is not a word of that great rarity, the morocco-bound quarto without the publisher's imprint, or of the different octavos.

Coggeshall's *Lincoln Memorial*, Columbus, 1865, is listed on page 37. Here he describes only the very well-known edition, to be found in most important Lincoln collections. On page 96 of his *Bibliography* Boyd provides a most interesting note:

The same bound in paper cover, on the front of which is the title and on the inside a poem of 34 lines: on the back cover is printed an account of a meeting held in the City Hall in Columbus, Ohio, April 25th, 1865, in regard to a statue to Mr. Lincoln and a monument to deceased Ohio soldiers; the inside page is filled with an appeal to the Ohio people in behalf of the object.

All of this made no impression upon Mr. Fish. This edition is very rare. Recently, when a copy passed through my hands, it was found that the material printed upon the wrappers was substantially important, and that the issue in wrappers stands on its own feet as a separate bibliographical entity.

Some time ago, while studying the Lincoln biographies issued during the campaign of 1860, I found that some of them had undergone considerable revision at the hands of an unknown censor. Later, while studying the biographical material issued during the 1864 campaign, I found before me two variants of *Old Abe's Jokes. Fresh from Abraham's Bosom*, both issued in New York by T. R. Dawley, undated but obviously issued in 1864. One of these copies contained a chapter headed "Mrs. Old Abe." The material in that chapter, if not downright derogatory, was far from flattering to the lady. In the second copy that material had been omitted. Here, I thought, was evidence of the activities of an 1864 campaign censor. Fish lists the book on page 85, and

the footnote reads: "Same issued under another title, and with a slight variation as to contents."

Months passed before I had access to a copy of Boyd's *Bibliography*, and then my theory was exploded. Boyd's note reads in part: "Same as above, except that the last article: 'Mrs. Old Abe, from the New York Mercury.' is omitted in this edition. . . . Published after Mr. Lincoln's death." Again we find a worthless note substituted for valuable bibliographical data.

Fish demonstrates a surprising lack of knowledge of the books published in his own day. Robert G. Ingersoll was very much alive at this time, and on page 66 he lists Ingersoll's *Abraham Lincoln, A Lecture*, New York, 1895. Had he been sufficiently interested to inquire of Mr. Ingersoll, he would have learned that the book first appeared in England, in 1893. He had drawn no lesson from the splendid results achieved by Hart under similar circumstances.

He lists only the dated edition of Herndon's *Lincoln, the Story of a Great Life*, Chicago, 1890. (In the later edition of his bibliography he mentioned an undated edition, in a footnote.) At this time he seems to have been in complete ignorance of the existence of an undated edition. Had he inquired of those who participated in the publication of this book he would have had it in his power to solve a problem that has been bothering bookmen for fifty years. Although the evidence that the undated edition was the first is overwhelming, there are many who, because of Fish's citation, believe the dated edition to be the first, and the question remains a moot one.

It is of interest to note at this point that many share the belief that the first edition was suppressed. But no one seems to have thought of comparing the texts, and thus determining which was the earlier. I own a copy of the prospectus, once the property of Vincent Starrett. Therein that famous bookman has inscribed a note, reading in part as follows: "It contains all but a page of the first chapter, including all the passages suppressed in later edi-

tions." The text in the prospectus, as well as in the first and second editions, is identical.

Lest some may think that I have chosen the first edition of Fish's work as being especially vulnerable, let me say that all of these faults, and many more, are to be found in the subsequent edition of the work. Indeed, if there was any serious effort to improve the work, between editions, I have been unable to find a trace of it.

In the year 1903 the Library of Congress published George Thomas Ritchie's *A List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress*. This work was revised and re-issued in 1906. During the same year there was published a work which added nothing to the subject: William H. Smith, Jr.'s *A Priced Lincoln Bibliography*. In the meantime with the aid of Major Lambert, Ritchie and Judd Stewart, Fish added three hundred titles to his list, and published it in an edition limited to seventy-five copies. It was also issued as a volume of the Tandy edition of Nicolay and Hay's *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*.

Except for a new arrangement there was no general revision of the work. The items were now listed in an alphabetical arrangement, and numbered. From now on I shall use those numbers. Such editing as one is able to discern is puzzling. Previously I mentioned Delahay's *Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln*, Leavenworth, Kansas. It was listed by Boyd, and on page 43 of Fish's first edition, but for unknown reasons it was dropped from this edition. A great rarity, it probably would have been forgotten but for the keen eyes of the workers on the *American Imprints Inventory*, who recently picked it up and recorded it as number 1594 in the *Check List of Kansas Imprints, 1854-1876*. As I have said, he now recognized the existence of the undated Herndon in a footnote to his number 409, but whether it was the first edition bothered him not at all.

In his preface he wrote: "Mr. Ritchie, also, through his excellent *List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress* and by valued per-

sonal assistance, has placed me under deep obligation." Yet Fish's number 517, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, London, 1865, is followed by this—for Fish—unusual note: "Title not verified; no copy found." However, on page 41 Ritchie⁵ lists a copy of the work as being present in the Library of Congress.

In the new edition Fish supplies us with occasional original notes, which are quite in keeping with the general quality of the work. Number 11 covers *Abraham Lincoln, in the latest Biography*, a pamphlet described by Fish as: "A review with Confederate leanings, of the Nicolay and Hay biography." He must have drawn that conclusion from the title; certainly it was not the result of his having read the text. It is, in fact, a scholarly and surprisingly dispassionate appraisal of Abraham Lincoln, written by a Southerner, or from the Southern viewpoint, in the light of facts disclosed by the then new Nicolay and Hay biography.

Under 75, Bartlett's *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln*, New York, 1860, appears this note: "Another edition, with same title-page as the above, except that the words 'Authorized Edition' are omitted, has a short preface, and the first chapter or 'part' is wholly different." If he had but taken the trouble really to compare the texts, not only would he have found irrefutable evidence that this edition with the dated preface was the first, but he would also have discovered that the revisions hinted at an interesting example of campaign censorship.

The most confusing feature of the entire work is his arrangement of the different editions of a given title. More often than not the first edition is barely noted, and no indication that it is the first is provided, thus leaving to the reader the natural assumption that the edition described in full is the first. When he came to the famous *Cooper Union Speech* he accorded each edition the dignity of a separate citation. The 1860 editions are numbered from 528 to 533 inclusive. At the top of the list—number 528—is the well-known edition with the notes by Nott and

⁵ 1903 edition.

Brainerd. It heads Fish's list, and as a result is generally considered the first edition. It was, I feel certain, the last edition issued in the year 1860. It was published very late in the campaign, its preface being dated September, while for months prior the metropolitan dailies had been advertising the other edition as on sale.

By no means have I exhausted this phase of the discussion. A complete catalogue of the deficiencies and errors in Fish's bibliography would be a long one indeed. I have provided a fair sampling; no useful purpose can be served by going into further detail. The whole affair was a sorry performance for a man who could boast: "Whenever there is a puzzling question of Lincoln Bibliography to settle, I am the 'George' who is permitted to 'do it.'"

We have noted that in the compilation of the first edition it was Fish's simple purpose to catalogue "a respectable collection of Lincoln literature." In that list were approximately eight hundred titles. Over five years had now elapsed, and in the new—and for our purpose final—edition there are eleven hundred and three entries. One hundred and twenty-five of the new titles listed had been published since the appearance of the first edition. Of the remaining one hundred and seventy-five new entries Fish says—in the preface to the last edition—one hundred were drawn from their hiding places by the circulation of the first edition.

In these five years Mr. Fish was very busy, as will be seen in that preface: "The chief libraries of both Europe and America have been visited, extensive correspondence has been carried on, and scores of catalogs examined." Again, "The merely political writings of the period have been sifted"—a man-sized job in itself. As the result of this tremendous effort, he produces just seventy-five new entries. And of these Mr. Ritchie's list contributed no small part.

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Fish's test for admission now became an involved, complex formula, in which his personal judgment was the controlling factor. Broadsides were rejected for the reason previously given—"they shed no light on the life that evoked them." "Books and pamphlets devoted in part to Lincoln, but treating also of other subjects, are not within the plan; though a few, wherein the former matter largely predominates, are retained." The contemporary political writings had been sifted by him, he wrote, "with a view to retaining such books and pamphlets as may be fairly said to owe their origin to the man." And so on, for two and one-half pages. Overlooking a great many omissions of common items which met his own test, and conceding that he made an honest effort, the list after all represents but one man's views as to the scope of a Lincoln collection. Fish testified that this was not his idea of a comprehensive Lincoln bibliography.

"Obviously enough," he wrote, "much of the matter thus listed is of but trifling value. Plainly, too, the student of Lincoln must resort to wider sources in the effort to learn what manner of man he was." It has been my observation that a good student first seeks a bibliography of his subject. Today's Lincoln student would of necessity be referred to Fish, for that work with all of its faults, is the current Lincoln bibliography.

There have been subsequent contributions, which, I suppose, should be mentioned. Chief among these is Joseph B. Oakleaf's *Lincoln Bibliography; a List of Books and Pamphlets relating to Abraham Lincoln*, Cedar Rapids, 1925. This work, brought out at a prohibitive price, and of which but ninety-five copies were offered for sale, was intended as a continuation of Fish. Nearly sixteen hundred items are listed. We need not consider it in detail, for it is notoriously inaccurate, and subject to much of the criticism directed towards the work which its author sought to supplement. The little known *Lincoln Bibliography*, by John W. Starr, is a bibliographical curiosity of no merit.

In *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1929, appears "A Bibliography of Biographies of Abraham Lincoln," by William E. Barton. The greater part of the list consists of entries drawn from Fish. However, in an effort to determine the priority of the campaign lives of 1860, Mr. Barton searched newspaper files, and copyright records. Alas! Like Fish he failed to examine the texts of the books which he was studying, and those texts contained many of the clues that he was seeking. In 1937 I prepared "Campaign Lives of Abraham Lincoln, 1860," which appeared in *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1937*, Illinois State Historical Society, 1938.

For some years past The Lincoln National Life Foundation has tried to keep abreast of the flood of contemporary Lincoln literature, issuing bibliographical lists from time to time in its weekly broadside, *Lincoln Lore*. So far as I know, this is the story of Lincoln bibliography down to date.

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Thirty-two years ago Daniel Fish appeared before this Society and presented a paper entitled *Lincoln Collections and Lincoln Bibliography*. He closed with the following plea:

A chief problem of Lincoln Bibliography is the problem of inclusion and exclusion. . . . The necessity is upon us to discover, if possible, some rule of selection. I do not profess to have made any such discovery, and if this learned Society can suggest a sound governing principle, one which will point the way infallibly through a jungle of perplexities, its existence will be justified beyond all cavil.⁶

Had Fish turned back to Hart's bibliography he would have found at least a hint to the answer in the introduction to that work: "Is it nothing," asked Hart, "to have preserved for future ages a record of these products of the press called forth by one of the greatest epochs in the nation's life; to erect a library within

⁶ Bibliographical Society of America, *Proceedings and Papers* (New York, 1909), vol. III.

one cover for the true historian, the one of fifty or one hundred years hence, to make choice of the foundation whereon to build his more lasting monument . . . ?" Let us give that historian, of a hundred years hence, a bibliography as comprehensive as we are now able to provide. Let us approach the problem with the knowledge that we are completely unaware of his probable requirements. Do this and we shall have a comprehensive bibliography. And there, Mr. Fish, is your answer—though it be a bit tardy.

I can think of no good reason why the scope of our bibliography should be limited by the width of collectors' bookshelves. Let them set up their own limits, and in the authentic Lincoln bibliography they will find the information which they need regardless of the trend which their collecting activities have taken. As a matter of fact the very vastness of the field is now forcing discerning collectors to specialize. I know of one collecting only the campaign material; yet another seeks everything pertaining to the assassination; still another wants material pertaining to Lincoln's birth and childhood. It is a healthy trend, which will gain momentum as hundreds of new volumes pour into the hopper year after year. Only a thoroughly comprehensive work will be of service to the Lincoln collector of tomorrow.

I am aware of the objection which the Lincolnians will raise. It is conservatively expressed by Paul M. Angle, who wrote:

"Lincolniana" is generally understood to include only those works which have the name of Lincoln prominent in their titles, or which deal in major part with Abraham Lincoln, or some member of his immediate family. Strict adherence to this interpretation involves one in inconsistencies, but departure from it opens up the entire field of Civil War Literature.⁷

Mr. Angle would be among the first to agree that no living specialist is qualified to prescribe the diet of source material for that historian of a hundred years hence. No one would seriously

⁷ Abraham Lincoln Association, *Bulletin* (Springfield, Illinois, June, 1936).

contend that all Civil War literature should be included in a Lincoln bibliography. It is said that Shakespeare drank beer; yet I do not conceive that a catalogue of books relating to the brewing industry of his day should be included in a Shakespeare bibliography. In the Civil War Lincoln played the leading role; yet that does not make *The History of the 109th Pennsylvania Volunteers* an item of Lincolniana. But because of his close association with that epoch, its literature must be carefully explored. The man who views bibliographical research as an onerous chore is doomed to failure; the true bibliographer will welcome the opportunity to explore such a promising mine of source material. Fortunately we are able to sample it:

Out of eight hundred and ninety-nine entries in Daniel J. Ryan's bibliography, *The Civil War Literature of Ohio*, Cleveland, 1911, forty-nine relate to Abraham Lincoln. Ryan does not seem to have feared invading the vast Lincoln field, and as a result we find in his work twenty-five items of well-known Lincolniana which were recorded by Fish. Of the remaining twenty we find one to be an unrecorded eulogy of Lincoln by Rutherford B. Hayes, a speech delivered before the Loyal Legion at Philadelphia in 1890. In Ryan 512, an account of the annual dinner of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion, appears a valuable contribution by General Jacob D. Cox: *Lincoln at Antietam*. In Ryan 513, a thirty-nine page pamphlet covering the dinner of the same organization for the following year, 1895, will be found the address of the famous Judge Advocate, John A. Bingham, entitled, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*. Ryan 522 is a report of the after-dinner speeches—the same organization—for the year 1904, and includes, says Ryan, “a valuable reminiscential paper on *Lincoln and Douglas*, by Honorable Clark E. Carr, who knew both characters.” Is there anyone who will deny that these are valuable nuggets of Lincolniana? But this brings us down to the well-known “bulk test,” of which I will

have something to say later. In Ryan 129 will be found Judge Albert C. Thompson's *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*; while 261 is a volume entitled, *G. A. R. Papers. Papers Read before Fred C. Jones Post*, included in which is Lieutenant Asa B. Isham's *Personal Reminiscences of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln*. I have not exhausted Ryan, but surely here is evidence sufficient to prove that the "entire field of Civil War literature" must be opened up.

Not so valid is Fish's objection to the inclusion of what he calls "merely political writings of the period." "Most of them," he says, "would have appeared in similar form had another than Lincoln been President." A fantastic supposition, and for such we find no room in a discussion of bibliography. The fact is that in the campaigns of 1860 and 1864 Lincoln was the central figure. Every document directly supporting his candidacy and every pamphlet in direct opposition thereto is beyond all cavil pure Lincolniana. And this, of course, applies to his earlier campaigns in Illinois, about which strangely enough there seems to be little question.

Products of his own pen, his Presidential messages and Executive orders—all must be admitted; yet most of them have been denied admittance in the past. And, of course, writings directed against his administrative acts or in support of them are legitimate entries in Lincoln bibliography.

The literature of the Confederacy must be examined. As a hint of what may be found there I have in mind that colorful speech of Judah P. Benjamin, in which he analyzed the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and found Lincoln the more sincere of the two contenders. A somewhat similar thing was the speech of the fire-eating Governor of Georgia, who, at the white heat of the conflict, dared get up before a Georgia audience and favorably compare Lincoln with Jeff Davis. There recently passed into the William Wyles Lincoln Library, at Santa Barbara College, California, Jeff Davis' *Presidential Message* to the Congress of the Confederacy, in which he gives an account of the abortive peace

meeting at Fortress Monroe at which Lincoln was present. This was unknown, I believe, until it came into my hands.

Collateral literature must be surveyed by one competent to distinguish between worthless, repetitive or hearsay evidence, and admissible evidence disclosing new light on the subject. Important corroborative material on obscure points must be recognized and recorded; and so, too, should be recorded valuable interpretative views of the subject by competent persons. I have no inclination to split hairs here; I do not intend to suggest that all literature of the period should be examined, but the most obvious and likely sources should be. And this brings us down to what I have chosen to call the "bulk test."

You will recall that Fish put it in these words: "Prints devoted in part to Lincoln but treating also of other topics are not within the plan." And that Mr. Angle put it this way: "'Lincolniana' is generally understood to include only those works . . . which deal in major part with Abraham Lincoln." All will agree that a single page of some books will shed more light on Lincoln than a shelf full of some of the trash that has been written about him. I have only to submit that the test should be directed towards the quality and character rather than to quantity.

A large number of items of Lincolniana were published in extremely small editions, often for local consumption only. As a result many items are known to us only because single copies have been preserved. For over seventy-five years these have been in the process of distribution among collectors. I doubt that the combined catalogues of all of the institutional collections would disclose more than a relatively small number of them. Geographically they are spread thinly over the country. There are few private collections that do not boast one or more, and fewer still that boast over a dozen of them. These private collections must be canvassed if the bibliography is to be complete.

This brings to mind the necessity for a census of rarities. The bibliography without such a census is like a reference book with-

out an index. There is no use to compile a bibliography if the compiler does not locate one or more copies. Few care to know that a book exists if they cannot lay their hands on it.

The identification of first editions promises many absorbingly interesting problems for the Lincoln bibliographer. He will find himself in what is practically a virgin field, and working under somewhat unique conditions. Frequently he will find that several editions of an important item were issued during a period of but a few months.

Fish listed six different editions of the so-called *Cooper Union Speech* issued during the year 1860. Eighteen months ago a collector wrote asking my opinion as to which was the first edition. In an effort to provide an answer I located thirteen 1860 editions, and I am more than ever at sea for I have strong reason to believe that there was a New York edition earlier than any I have seen.

It will come as a shock to most of you to learn that the first edition of the immortal *Gettysburg Address* has not been definitely identified. In its earliest printed form it was appended to Everett's Oration, and thus published in several editions within the span of a few weeks. Fish assumed that the New York edition, dated and perhaps published late in 1863, was the first. However, it has long been known that one and perhaps two editions appeared in Boston in December, 1863, and the priority remains undetermined.

This is a matter of prime importance to the librarian and collector. The determination of the first editions of a large number of books is required, and the complex problems involved will require a great deal of research. It is a vital and essential part of a bibliography, and no one will be content with less than an authoritative treatment.

As to the final arrangement of the material I have nothing to offer. Modern bibliographical standards are too well known to justify discussion at this time.

The compilation of a comprehensive Lincoln bibliography is

probably the greatest single task confronting American bibliographers. Because of the intimate relation of Lincoln to our country it is far more worthy of attention than have been many of the subjects which have been treated in such distinguished contributions by American bibliographers. And so, if I have not already indicated that need, let me say that Lincoln bibliography needs most the services of competent bibliographers.

"THE WESTERN AMERICAN"—AN EARLY CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPER

By LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL

WHEN it happens that the two greatest collections of California newspapers—those in the California State Library and the Bancroft Library—do not possess even a single issue of a certain paper, it can be justly asserted that the periodical in question is of extreme rarity. This is the case with the daily *Western American*, which took only six weeks to fulfil its life span, eighty-eight years ago in San Francisco. In fact, only two libraries in California possess examples, each but a single issue. The *Union List of Newspapers* takes small space to record the surviving copies:

Western American, Jan. 15–March 1, 1852

Pasadena Public Library	Feb. 11
Huntington Library	March 1
New York Historical Society	Jan. 29, 30, 31; Feb. 2-6; March 1
Library of Congress	Jan. 26-31; Feb. 2, 3, 5-7, 9-14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28; March 1

There are also two issues, January 26, 28, in the private collection of Robert Ernest Cowan.¹

¹ It is interesting to note the sources from whence the surviving issues came into their present owners' hands:

Pasadena Public Library: Included in a file of old newspapers purchased circa 1905.

Huntington Library: In the Henry R. Wagner collection of Californiana acquired in 1922. Mr. Wagner obtained the issue from R. E. Cowan.

New York Historical Society: Sent to the Society in 1852 by Jacob Bailey Moore, who had been Librarian of the Society, and who in 1849 was sent to San Francisco to establish the post-office there. Cf. A. J. Wall. *Early Newspapers*, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quart. Bull.*, July, 1931.

Inasmuch as the center of Californiana studies is the San Francisco-Sacramento region, in which are to be found no copies of the *Western American*, it is not surprising that until this day the history of the short-lived newspaper has never been told, and its very existence all but forgotten. In the annals of California journalism, from 1858 to 1940, apparently a total of only five sentences has been devoted to this paper.² The first of these is the most significant, for it is the only evidence we have of the first issue of the paper. Edward C. Kemble, the original "boy editor" of the *California Star*, writing in the *Sacramento Union* on the history of California newspapers, stated:

On the 15th of January 1852, the *Western American*, a daily newspaper, was established by Charles E. Pickett. Notwithstanding his "liberality," declaring himself "a disciple of Epicurus in philosophy, of Jesus Christ in morals, and of Thomas Jefferson in politics," thus trying to suit all tastes, his enterprise soon failed, and the *Western American* died.

It was while engaged in writing a biography of this same Charles Edward Pickett³ (he too was as close to oblivion as his newspaper) that I came across Kemble's account of the *Western American*. My next step was to secure a microfilm from the Library of Congress of their file of twenty-five four-page issues. In this form the newspaper came home to California. Before sketching its course, a few facts are presented about its founder and editor.

Charles Edward Pickett (a cousin of General Pickett of Gettysburg fame) was born in 1820 on a farm in northern Virginia. After schooling at an academy near Mount Vernon he went to

Library of Congress: Acquired so far back that the volume lacks accessioning marks now in use; record of purchase not to be found.

R. E. Cowan: Acquired in 1916 with a large group of specimen newspapers from Holmes, Sr., the Oakland bookseller, who in turn had obtained them from an old-time San Francisco newspaper editor.

² *Sacramento Union*, Dec. 25, 1858. Reprinted in book form, ed. by D. C. McMurtre, N. Y., 1927. *Soc. of Calif. pioneers, Quarterly*, v. 3, n. 3, p. 120. W. P. A. *History of Journalism in San Francisco*, v. 2, p. 15.

³ A forthcoming publication of the University of California Press.

live with an older brother in Tennessee. In 1842 he joined the great Oregon-bound caravan, led by Jesse Applegate, William Martin, and Peter Burnett, made up largely of Tennessee and Missouri folk. The struggle of the United States and Great Britain for Oregon had everyone's eyes turned west. Many were departing, with motives both patriotic and pecuniary. In addition to a vigorous waving of the flag, the government was offering the prospect of free land. The arrival of this caravan of a thousand people in the Willamette Valley in the autumn of 1843 more than doubled the population of the territory, and thus gave invincible reinforcement to the claim of the United States.

Young Pickett's passion was government. He played the role of critic in the first provisional government, and in 1845 issued a satirical manuscript newspaper, the *Flumgudgeon Gazette and Bumble Bee Budget*, in which he lambasted the legislators.⁴ It was not until several months later that the first printed newspaper on the Pacific coast, the *Oregon Spectator*, made its appearance.

In 1846 Pickett started for home via California. He was at Sutter's Fort immediately after the Bear Flag revolt, and at Yerba Buena when the American conquest was completed. He voyaged to the Sandwich Islands, and returned to Sonoma where he planned to settle down as a farmer. The discovery of gold changed everything. California Pastoral came to an end. Pickett next kept a store at Sutter's Fort, and acquired some land along the Sacramento River. He did not prove to be a good business man. A hasty, impulsive, quarrelsome, generous Southern agrarian, he gradually lost his holdings to the shrewd Yankee traders. All the while he kept up an agitation in the press for a stable, honest government; also for an equitable settlement of the land disputes occasioned by the land-hungry immigrants versus the recipients of huge Spanish and Mexican grants.

In the summer of 1851 Pickett announced the founding of his

⁴ See the present writer's transcript and commentary in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, June, 1940.

own newspaper, to be devoted to the cause of reform. On July 20th from Sacramento City he wrote to John Bidwell in Hamilton, California, enclosing copies of a prospectus. No copy of this announcement apparently has survived, but Pickett's letter is among the Bidwell papers in the California State Library. It reads in part:

I enclose you some copies of my prospectus. Put all but one in the hands of some active persons in your region in order to get me subscribers, and that keep yourself to fill up. There is going to be no failures in this affair provided men who know me will do what I ask in order to get a start, and this is but a small affair. Indeed I have a right to demand this aid of all who care a fig for the interest of California. We are in a dreadful state of turmoil and confusion and things will continue to grow worse unless someone makes a start to stem the tide of corruption and rascality flooding the land.

Hanging a few Sidney Coves and greasers, is going to do but little good, so long as men high in office are allowed to retain their posts, and continue practicing every species of fraud and villany. We who wish to lead a quiet life in California and have a government based on proper principles—such a one as we can confide in and render a heartfelt support in upholding—must come out and denounce the present order of things and declare for a change. It is high time this was being commenced. There is a vast field of labor before us—a perfect Augean stable to be cleaned, and I am willing to be one of the first to commence the task.

Early the following year Pickett was in San Francisco, ready to publish his newspaper. He induced a group of what he called "practical printers" to join with him in the venture.⁵ Their office was on Montgomery Street (at that time the *embarcadero*) three doors from Clay Street, opposite Page, Bacon & Co.

After the first issue of the *Western American* on January 15th, 1852, it was Monday the 26th before the second number of this "daily" appeared; thenceforth it continued regularly six days a week. An imposing list of Agents was given, which included J. L. Menks and Jesse Applegate in Oregon; E. K. Woodward, St. Louis; J. W. Hampton, Washington, D. C.; Pickett's younger brother Gustavus Adolphus in New Orleans; B. D. Wilson in

⁵ John R. Mack, James W. Young, E. L. Myers, J. G. Vignes, E. Burnside.

Los Angeles, and various men in the towns of Auburn, Shasta City, Sonoma, Benecia, Sacramento City and San Jose. The front page of each issue was given over to a printing of the San Francisco Police Ordinances, a list of members of the U. S. Congress, and Congressional reports, such as T. Butler King's on Steam Communication with the Sandwich Islands and China. Page two was the editorial and news section, written almost entirely by Pickett. Page three was made up of advertisements, and page four of the State Laws.

Short and stormy was the life of Pickett's paper. Its rivals, the *Evening Picayune*, the *Herald*, and the *Alta California*, were repeatedly flayed by Pickett, and he also went afield to do battle with the *Stockton Journal* and the *Sonora Herald*. His crusade was for an equitable settlement of land titles. He was also opposed to vigilante action, and called for an enlargement of the San Francisco police force, which numbered only thirty men. The state legislature came in for comment. In 1851 Pickett had attended the meeting at San Jose. This body attained a certain unique position in the state's history as the "Legislature of a Thousand Drinks." His way of describing it was even more picturesque. "It is known to fame," he wrote, "for its venality and corruption beyond any legislative body that ever sat in Christendom." And its members he called "an infamous, ignorant, drunken, rowdy, perjured and traitorous body of men"—a description which is quoted to this day by historians, although its source has been forgotten.⁶

At first the paper thrived. In two weeks the circulation reached 1,500 daily. A weekly "Steamer Edition" made its appearance, the front page of which reprinted the past week's editorials. These sold for twenty-five cents wrapped for mailing and were to be sent to family and friends "back in the States."

The paper had its lighter moments. Pickett was no blue-nosed reformer; no one enjoyed good living more than he. Oysters

⁶ *Western American*, Jan. 27, 1852.

were consumed in the office before closing time; the Jenny Lind Theater was scolded for not providing the *Western American* with free passes; a *Partie Francaise* was inaugurated for French readers. And when Pickett took a day off to witness the marriage of his marine reporter, John B. Ward, to Señorita Concepción Estudilla of San Leandro, the paper ribbed the absent editor, "Governor" Pickett, for his unmarried state. The following day he gave a lively account of his trip to the wedding on the good ship *Hector*, and printed a humorous resolution of thanks to the captain, crew (and bartender) of the vessel.

On February 9th Pickett announced himself as candidate for Public Printer before the legislature in its third session. He refused however to send free papers to members of the legislature, even though he was a candidate. He claimed to be too poor, and besides—it would be bribery!

He allied himself with the Squatters or Settlers against the Land Pirates and Speculators. It was no abstract quarrel; he had once been evicted as a squatter. In the winter of 1846-1847 he had fenced a tract of land on Rincon Point (now Rincon Hill) in San Francisco, and thereon erected a shack. When he sailed for the Islands on a short visit he left his claim in the care of a friend. In his absence the military authorities claimed the land, evicted his friend, and destroyed the improvements. Upon his return, Pickett sought unsuccessfully to regain possession of the land, but it had passed into other hands. Thus it was natural for him to embrace the Squatter cause, and to lend his newspaper office for their meetings.

It was a losing battle that he fought. His little capital was nearly gone. Advertising was increasingly hard to secure. He accused the *Herald* of trying to run him out of business. His stock of newsprint was running low; he began to advertise for "Printing paper, 24 by 34 inches." And, as a final blow, he fell ill. The issue of February 24th nevertheless sounded the clarion call of "Reform! Reform!! Reform!!! Though stretched upon a bed

of sickness, our voice shall still be heard!" But the next weekly edition lacked altogether his fiery touch.

The end came on Monday, March 1, 1852, in this "Apology":

Colonel Pickett, the editor of this paper, is still confined to his bed, and unable to furnish the readers of this paper anything. He has now been ill for ten days, but his medical attendants are of opinion that he will soon be restored, when the "W. A." will be conducted as heretofore. In the meantime our readers must bear with us until the Colonel is "himself again."

Although Pickett eventually rose from his sickbed, and lived on for thirty active years, the *Western American* did not.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR., FREDERICK E. GOFF, GERALD D. McDONALD, HOWARD S. MOTT, DAVID A. RANDALL, E. MILLICENT SOWERBY, LEWIS M. STARK AND EDWIN W. WILLOUGHBY.

Incunabula

GUIBÉ, ROBERT, bp. of Nantes (d. 1513). *Oratio ad Innocentium VIII.* [Rome, Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, after 10 June 1485] 4°.

2 leaves without signatures. 34 lines. Type: 4:86G.

la: Roberti Guibe Britanni Episcopi trecentis ad Inno= | centium .viii. Pont. Maximum legati illustrissimi ac inuic | tissimi Francisci Ducis. Britannie oratio in obedientia p̃ | ftanda. | Cogitanti mihi sepe numero huius loci amplitudinem fa= | cram. . . ends, 2b, line 10: . . . habere | commendatissimam. Dixi pater beatissime. |

This copy, apparently undescribed, is bound in half-vellum, cream boards. Purchased by CSMH in March 1925.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 1995.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

MISSALE EBROICENSE. Paris [Jean Dupré] 15 June 1492. f°.

238 leaves. Sigs.: aa⁶, a-z⁸, z⁸, 7⁸, A-D⁸. 2 col. 37 lines. Type: 12 and 13: 116G, M32 (Claudin. *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, 1:258) 5 woodcuts.

la, with sig. aa i: p̃ima dies mensis feeptima [sic] trūcat vt enfis | Pocula ianus amat. | calendar ends, 6b, line 33: December habet dies .xxx. Luna .xxix. | Nox habet ho2as .xviii. dies .vi. | 7a [border and woodcut as in Claudin 1:218] col. 1: Dominica p̃ima aduentus domini. | Incipit officium. Introitus. | [5]d te leuau | animam meam deus | in te confido | leaf b: (d³) Ominis dixit ad me fili= | 1ob, col. 2: [woodcut, adoration of the shepherd, 112 x 80 mm.] In die natiuitatis domini. Officium. | [5]uer natus | 16b, col. 2, line 6: . . . Te deum laudamus. | [woodcut, adoration of the three magi, 108 x 80 mm.] [5]cce adue | nit domi- nato2 do= | minus et regnum | 98a, col. 1, line 33: In die sancto pasche. Ad missam. | Officium. | col. 2: [woodcut, the resurrection, 87 x 70 mm.] [5]esurrexi et | adhuc tecum sum | 108b, col. 1, line 36: . . . In die | ascensionis. Ad

miffam. Officiū. col. 2: [woodcut, the ascension, 87 x 70 mm.] [5]ixi galilei | quid admiramini | ends, 238a, col. 2: Anno incarnationis dominice | Millefimo quadringēteſimo nona= | gefimofecundo Junii vero quindecim | ma q3 infigne facri miffalis op⁹ mo= | re ebzoicenſi inſtar coꝛrectiffimi exē= | plaris oꝛdina- tum: in laudem et glo= | riam ſancte ⁊ indiuidue trinitatis to | ciufq3 celeſtis curie. Impreſſum pa= | riſius. Finit feliciter. | 238b: blank.

Colored woodcuts. Music added in manuſcript. Guide-letters quite general, initials added in red and blue, alternately; manuſcript notes on 95b and 96a. Probably the copy cited by Weale-Bohata. *Catalogus Miſſalium*, no. 365, without location. Purchaſed by CSMH in February, 1926. In a modern binding of brown levant morocco, tooled in blind.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4557.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

NATURA VERBORUM. [Paris] Pierre Levet [about 1488] 4°.

6 leaves. Sig.: a⁶. 32 lines on 2a. Type: 1:80 | 81G; 2:114G. Printer's mark I.

la: Natura verborum [printer's mark] 1b. (n²) Ofcere verborū regimen puer: huc | fuge qui vis. [smaller type] vtilioꝛa metrice doceo. | [type like firſt two lines] De ſpecie quauis nā meliora cano | [smaller type] His paucis verſibus regiminis verboꝛū traditur notitia | iu[ſic] quibus (vt patet intuenti) tota pene conſtruc- tionis la= | tet difficultas. | 3a, with ſig. a.iii: oīa paupib⁹. vētura offero. ſignifico. mitto. | ends, 6b, line 24: . . . Aliqua | ablatiuū. Boetius. Qd' ſi ꝓecioſa ſūt quid ad tua refert. | Iſta videantur in alexandro. | Hec breuiter de naturis Vboꝛū dicta ſufficiāt |

Below the title in a contemporary hand is written: Bartfridus Eprilennius. The copy, probably unique, is bound in dark blue levant morocco by Riviere & Sons. Purchaſed from Walter M. Hill, 1925, by CSMH.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4568.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

English Books, 1475-1800

C., I. A Pleasant Comedie, called the two merry milkmaids. London, 1620

STC 4281.

Two iſſues of this play were deſcribed in the laſt number. Commenting on theſe, Miſs Emma Unger reports that the copy in the Pforzheimer Library is a mixed iſſue. There is no ſtage direction on C₃ recto (iſſue b), but the readings on F₄ are as in iſſue a.

The Roſenbach Co. would be intereſted to know if anyone elſe can report a copy in this ſtate. The Pforzheimer copy is inlaid throughout and is not therefore con- cluſive evidence, as it may have been made up from two copies.

See *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 34, No. 3, p. 270.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

HEYWOOD, JOHN (c1497–c1580). A dialogue conteining the number in effect of all the prouerbes in the Englishe tongue.

There is an edition printed by Berthelet not mentioned in the *STC*, dated M.D. on the title-page.

See *STC* 13291.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER (1552–1618). A Declaration of the demeanor and cariage of Sir. W. Raleigh, 1618.

The *STC* gives 4 editions or variants of this work. There is still another not listed in the *STC* with signatures A² A⁴-H⁴. A₁ has the signature mark *A* within a woodcut ornament; A₂ has the title on the recto and arms on the verso; A₁ (repeated) begins *Although the Kings*.

See *STC* 20653.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

TAYLOR, JOHN, THE WATER POET (1580–1653). A Shilling, or, The Trauailes of Twelue-pence. [E. Allde, 1621.]

There are two issues which can be distinguished by variant readings on A₅ recto: In issue *a* the first line of the poem reads *If any one (as I dare boldly done)*, and the catchword is *Thun-*. In issue *b* the same line reads *If any one (as I dare boldly dare)* and the catchword is *A hun-*.

See *STC* 23793.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

TAYLOR, JOHN, THE WATER POET (1580–1653). A Verry merry wherry-ferry-voyage.

There is an edition of this work not mentioned in the *STC*, with imprint *London. Printed by Edw. All-de, for Henry Gosson, 1623*.

See *STC* 23812.

See *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 34, No. 3, p. 271.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

Americana

BLANCHARD, JEAN PIERRE (1753–1809). Journal | de ma | Quarante-cinquieme | Ascension, | la premiere faite en | Amérique, | le 9. Janvier, 1793. [2 lines in Latin.] *Philadelphie, | de l'Imprimerie de Charles Cist, | M,DCC, XCIII*.

John Fleming of the Rosenbach Company would be glad to know if anyone has any information as to any other copy of this edition in French. It was published in the same year as the edition in English by the same printer, and appears to be unrecorded. The engraved frontispiece is the same as that used in the English edition, with the text in English.

— E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

CIVES [pseud.] The following publication . . . To William Smith. . . [New York: Hugh Gaine? 1783] pp. 8.

Both *Sabin* 13171 and *Evans* 17871 enter this under *Civis*, locating only the copy at MBAt. This copy, however, as well as those at DLC, NN(photostat) and VU(McGregor), has the spelling *Cives*. This is therefore an error in *Sabin* and *Evans* and not a variant printing.

— JOHN C. WYLLIE

[COLLIER, ROBERT RUFFIN] 1805–1870. Original and miscellaneous essays. By a Virginian. . . *Richmond: Printed and published by T. W. White*, 1829. 12mo, pp. viii, 13–300.

Wrongly attributed by Cushing and Halkett & Laing to Francis Walker Gilmer. For account of Collier's authorship, cf. *Clemons, H. The unknown Virginian. (In: The library journal, v.60, 1935, p. 481-482.)*

Copy in VU(Alderman).

— JOHN C. WYLLIE

HARVEY, EDWARD (fl. 1750). A New Manual; and Platoon Exercise: with an Explanation. Published by Authority. *New-York: Printed by John Holt, near the Exchange. M,DCC,LXIX.*

Evans 11288 tentatively attributes this book to Hugh Gaine. Paul Leicester Ford in *The Journals of Hugh Gaine*, Vol. I, makes no mention of this as a product of the Gaine press. Is there a Hugh Gaine edition of this book?

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON JR.

An Impartial Relation of the Hail-Storm on the Fifteenth of July and the Tornado on the second of August 1799. Which appeared in the Towns of Bozrab, Lebanon, and Franklin, in the State of Connecticut. . . *Norwich: Printed by John Trumbull, 1799. 8vo, pp. 30, (2).*

Sabin 34382, *Evans* 35650 and *Trumbull* 895 neglect to record the final leaf containing the errata.

— ALEXANDER DAVIDSON JR.

[LAVOISIER, ANTOINE LAURENT] (1743–1794). The art of manufacturing alkaline salts and potashes, published by order of His most Christian Majesty, and approved by the Royal Academy of Sciences. Tr. from the French by Charles Williamos[!] . . . [Philadelphia, 1820?]. pp. vi, 50. 3 folding plates, tables.

Located in DLC and MB. This scarce pamphlet is given anonymously in both DLC and MB. Samples from the DLC copy compared with a work given anonymously in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris under the title *L'art de fabriquer le salin et la potasse, publié par ordre du Roi* . . . *Paris, De l'Imprimerie Royale, 1779*, shows that the work is a translation. A work of similar title and the same text, published at Paris in An II [1794?], is attributed to A. L. Lavoisier (cf. Bibliothèque Nationale).

— FORREST B. BOWE

LINCOLN, WALDO. *Bibliography of American Cookery Books 1742-1860*. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 1929. Worcester, Mass. Published by the Society, 1929.

ADDITIONS:

KRAFFT, MICHAEL. of Bristol, Pennsylvania, Distiller —The American Distiller . . . theory and practice of distilling, according to the latest discoveries and improvements, including the most improved methods of constructing stills, and of rectification. Philadelphia: Printed for Thomas Dobson, 1804. Archibald Bartram, Printer. 8vo, pp. 219, (1), 2 folding plates.

This is, I believe, the earliest American monograph on the subject.

COOPER, THOMAS. M.D. A treatise of domestic medicine . . . to which is added, a . . . system of Domestic Cookery . . . also, The art of preserving all kinds of animal and vegetable substances for many years, by M. Appert. Reading: Published by George Getz, 1824.

Tall 8vo., pp. 128. 3 full-page plates.

Pp. 24-110 are devoted to Cookery.

COMPLETE GROCER, THE. being a series of very valuable receipts for distilling and mixing cordials . . . by an Old Distiller . . . New York, 1832. 8vo., pp. 204.

AMERICAN COOKERY BOOK, THE. compiled with great care . . . come please your wife and buy this book . . . Hartford: Henry Hill, 1836. 8vo., pp. 24.

HARDIN, MRS. PHILOMELIA A.M.A. Every Body's Cook and receipt book . . . for Buckeyes, Hoosiers, Wolverines . . . Cleveland, 1842.

ADDITIONAL EDITIONS:

No. 34. The frugal Housewife . . . by Sussanah Carter . . . New York: G. & R. Waite, 1803. 8vo., pp. 216.

No. 85. Cottage economy . . . by William Cobbett. New York: Published by John Doyle, 12 Liberty St. Stereotyped by Conner & Cooke. 1833.

No. 108. The experienced housekeeper, or domestic cookery: . . . Hartford, 1829.

No. 115. Domestic duties; or, instruction to young married ladies, on the management of their households . . . by Mrs. William Parkes. . . . First American Edition. New York, 1828. pp. vii, (8-9), 400.

No. 154. The experienced American housekeeper, or domestic cookery. . . . Hartford, 1835.

With plates.

— RICHARD S. WORMSER

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER (1763-1820). *Voyages from Montreal . . . to the frozen and Pacific ocean, 1789 & 1793*. London, 1802.

Sabin 43415 calls for a portrait and two maps. As in the first, this second edition should also have three maps and a portrait.

— ALFRED W. PAINE

MEARES, JOHN (1756-1809). Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789 from China to the northwest coast of America. *London*, 1790.

Sabin 47260 calls for 26 maps and plates but the copy in NN and three which have passed through my hands contain 28 maps and plates. — ALFRED W. PAINE

Observations sur le Mémoire de la France, envoyées dans les cours de l'Europe, par le ministère Britannique, pour justifier la réponse faite à la réquisition de S. M. T. C. du 21 décembre 1755. [*Paris*, 1756?] 12 mo., pp. 12.

Caption-title. Signature: A⁶.

A copy in the Clements Library is bound with J. C. Moreau's *Mémoire contenant le Précis des faits . . . Paris: Suivant la copie de l'Imprimerie royale*, 1756. (275 p.) "It . . . was probably printed at the same press as the *Mémoire* which it accompanies. The Clements Library has this in manuscript in the Shelburne Papers, and until this copy came into our hands we had been unable to prove definitely that it had ever existed in anything but manuscript form. There are references to it here and there in bibliographies, but these references may all be to the manuscript version. It will be interesting to see if this note will bring to light other printed copies. It would also be interesting to know whether the "Mémoire de la France" to which the *Observations* is a reply, was ever printed. There is a manuscript copy of that, too, in the Shelburne Papers." — ELIZABETH STEERE

RACINE, JEAN BAPTISTE (1639-1699). The suitors. A comedy, in three acts, by Jean Racine. Tr. from the French by a member of the Detroit bar. *Detroit* [Pub. by S. D. Elwood] 1862. 32 p. 18^{cm}.

This prose translation of Racine's *Les plaideurs* is said to be located in DLC; MiD; and MiU. The translator signs himself "A member of the Detroit bar" and dedicates the play to "the bar of Michigan." As far as is known the pseudonym "A member of the Detroit bar" has heretofore not been uncovered. In the preface of Irving Browne's version of *The suitors* (New York, 1871) it is learned that the latter translator first published some English extracts of Racine's comedy in the *Albany Law Journal*. At that time Browne did not know that any translation of the play existed. Then he received from "Levi Bishop, esq., of the Detroit Bar, a literal prose translation of the comedy, published by him in 1862." Levi Bishop, 1815-1881, was born in Russell, Mass., but moved to Detroit in 1836. He was admitted to the bar in 1842. He translated several works from the French. (cf. *Appleton's cyclopædia of American biography*; also Levi Bishop, *The poetical works*, Detroit, 1876, p. [v]-xvii.) — FORREST B. BOWE

SMITH, SARAH POGSON. Daughters of Eve, by a Lady . . . *Schenectady*, 1826.

A manuscript in NN definitely identifies the author of this anonymous work.

— GERALD D. McDONALD

TRUXTON, THOMAS (1755-1822). Remarks, instructions, and examples relating to the latitude & longitude . . . *Philadelphia: Printed by Dobson.* 1794.

Evans 27823 calls for a map and two plates. Every copy I have been able to locate contains but one map and one plate.

— ALFRED W. PAINE

Modern Literature

CHINKS. Mr. Hardy Lee, his yacht. Being XXIV sketches on stone, by Chinks. Boston: Published by A. Williams & Co., 100, Washington Street, 1857.

Plates only, no title-page. Title from cover, within rope border. Vignette of sailor's head. Only known copy in Racquet and Tennis Club, N. Y. C. I would be glad to know of other copies, and identity of "Chinks."

— ROBERT W. HENDERSON

JEFFERS, ROBINSON (1887-). The Cardinal | (heavy rule) | (light rule) | November | '05 | (The above two date-lines inclosed within a wreath) Supplementary to the | University Courier | (heavy rule) | (light rule) | UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA | (The whole inclosed within a heavy rule)

Collation: [1]-[32], as follows: [1] advertisements; [2] reproduction of a photograph of The College of Liberal Arts; [3] Table of Contents; [4] blank; [5]-30 text; [31] blank; [32] advertisements.

Issued in bright red wrapper, the title, as above, printed on the front cover. The mast-head at the top of p. [5] reads: The Cardinal | "Education is Evolution of Power and the Formation | of Habit." | (double rule) | VOL. 1 LOS ANGELES, CAL., NOVEMBER, 1905 No. 10 | (double rule) | "No. 10" refers to *The University Courier*, not to *The Cardinal* of which there was only one number, issued as a literary supplement to the student newspaper. Advertisements appear inside the front cover and on both sides of the back cover. All edges trimmed. The leaves measure 23.5 by 15.5 cms.

Contains: *Steadfast Sky* (signed: ROBINSON JEFFERS), p. 16.

Note: This item is not recorded in S. S. Alberts, *A Bibliography of the Works of Robinson Jeffers* (New York: Random House, 1933), and remained unnoticed until discovered in 1938 by Professor Louis Wann of the University of Southern California. But the only mention of it in print was in a footnote to another article on Jeffers by Dr. Wann ("Robinson Jeffers — Counterpart of Walt Whitman," *The Personalist*, Vol. XIX, no. 3, p. 304, July, Summer, 1938), in which he said

he had found "five hitherto unnoticed poems . . . contributed to a student publication at the University of Southern California."

Bibliographical data of the other poems (all signed: Robinson Jeffers):

"The Game," *The University Courier*, Vol. I, no. 12, p. 1, December 12, 1905.

"Homeward," *The University Courier*, Vol. I, no. 19, p. 1, February 6, 1906.

"The Forsaken Cabin," *The University Courier*, Vol. I, no. 24 (wrongly numbered no. 33), p. 1, March 13, 1906.

"The Poultry Lover," *The University Courier*, Vol. I, no. 27, p. 2, April 10, 1906.

"The Game" was reprinted in *The University Courier*, Vol. II, no. 33, p. 8, May 23, 1907. "The Poultry Lover," "Homeward," and "Steadfast Sky" were reprinted in the *Southern California Daily Trojan* (successor to *The University Courier*), Vol. XXXI, no. 132, p. 2, April 25, 1940, on the occasion of Robinson Jeffers being made a member of the University of Southern California chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Another poem, unsigned, "The City," in *The University Courier*, Vol. I, no. 14, p. 3, January 2, 1906, was identified by Dr. Wann as the work of Jeffers and was later acknowledged by the poet as being his.

None of them has ever appeared in book form.

— WILLIAM WHITE

REVIEW

BLUM, ANDRÉ. *The Origins of Printing and Engraving by André Blum.* Translated from the French by Harry Miller Lydenberg. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1940. ix, 226 pp. Illus., facisms. 9 x 6 inches. \$3.00.

Mr. Blum's book is one of those all too rare attempts to present in a single volume a subject that is usually treated as separate halves by the respective specialists. The interrelation of the various techniques of engraving and printing is thus often lost to the general reader, in the bewildering array of woodblocks and metal plates and types in relief, and of metal plates in intaglio. The variety of meaning given to such words as prints, printing and engraving is confusing to all but the specialists. The author, therefore, deals with printing in the restricted sense of typographic printing in Part One, while Part Two is devoted to all those forms, relief and intaglio, in which the printed result is primarily, if not exclusively, pictorial. That texts occur, in the early period, also as woodblocks, and that pictorial woodcuts are parts of letterpress books, complicates the matter, both technically and chronologically, but the reader need only refer to the table of contents to see the logical grouping of the subject matter.

The chapter on Wood Engraving deals with playing cards, images and block books. It is followed by a discussion of copper line and dot (criblé) engravings. The illustrated book of the fifteenth century is described according to the regions of production, i.e. Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, and France, the latter being accorded the fullest treatment and sub-divided into works of the Lyons and the Paris schools of engravers.

All of this matter is concerned with the technique and the art of the engraver; it is preceded by a brief chapter on Printing Types and their invention.

The clarity of the whole scheme and the condensed treatment must have appealed to such an exacting scholar as the distinguished translator who, by his excellent rendering, has made a good book accessible to American readers. We may consider his labor a form of service to the public for which the institution of which he is director is justly famous. A book of this character allows the translator no latitude for self-expression; even if he disagrees or possesses better knowledge on a specific point, he can only

make occasional comment in brackets. That Dr. Lydenberg has done so repeatedly, in the interest of the reader, enhances the value of this edition.

Mr. Blum is at his best, of course, in his field of prints; his references are complete and trustworthy. That the emphasis should lie upon French prints and illustrated books is but natural. One could wish that the work of the other two national groups, the Dutch and the German, had been treated equally thoroughly, for the sake of balance. While the story of French prints is carried up to 1500, the work of Albrecht Dürer in wood and copper is not even mentioned, and such a stupendous volume as Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (better known as the Nuremberg Chronicle) evokes no comment from the author.

However, the line had to be drawn somewhere, for practical reasons, and the reader desirous of more information in the fields mentioned need only select from the bibliography given.

While the book is instructive as a whole, it is not without shortcomings in the historical part, and some errors that need correcting. It is confusing to see, after a discussion of the Protat print of 1370-80, illustrations captioned "15th century" when the sense requires "14th" and subsequent illustrations are so captioned or marked "beginning of the 15th." The chronology of the oldest block books, it must be admitted, is arbitrary and unconvincing, and at the least doubtful.

The French king who sent Jenson to Mainz in 1458 was Charles VII, not V, as printed. This may be a typographical error; but the reader should be sure that it was the king who was put on the throne by Joan of Arc. After the quotation from the king's order we read that the mission certainly was a success, but no explanation is given why Jenson is found in Venice, in 1470. As the king had died in 1461 and Jenson had been unable to get any support from Louis XI, wherein lay the success? Furthermore, in view of John of Spire's five-year printing monopoly, quoted by the author, the reader might wish to know how Jenson could operate as an independent printer within a year of its date.

The *Defensorium* is assigned to "presumably 1470"; the year is definite for the reviewer's facsimile shows date and initials cut in the block. As for the *Speculum* there is no doubt about one edition having text printed partly typographically and partly from woodblocks, while other editions are typographic, save for the illustrations. Doubt exists only in the minds of earlier writers who could not distinguish between woodblock and typographic printing. Incredible as it may sound, an Italian historian declared in 1868

that all Mainz books before 1462 were printed from woodblocks! One need not wonder, then, that the nineteenth-century literature on the invention of printing is largely committed to the theory of "wooden letters." Even Mr. Blum, speaking of the *Donatus*, says it was printed from wooden letters individually cut. That is a layman's view, popular but not strengthened by mere repetition, for it shows a complete lack of understanding of the technical requirements for typographic printing. American readers will find a presentation of the modern viewpoint in *A History of the Printed Book*, 1937.

The fragment of the *Weltgericht* (p. 24) is in the Gutenberg Museum in Mainz, while the lower illustration on the same page is that of a *Donatus* in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

A number of names have been misspelled, for instance: p. 3 read Zedler for Zeller (correct in index); notes 16 and 24: should read *Annales Hirs-augienses*; p. 13: read Humery for Humry; p. 34: the first Haarlem printer was Bellaert (correct on p. 155, but wrong in index); p. 36: Regiomontanus is one word (correct on p. 146); p. 8: read Bernard for Barnard; p. 146: read Kessler for Kasler.

In the chapter on the Controversies about the Invention the author finds himself on somewhat unfamiliar ground. He has no opinion of his own to offer, and, therefore, presents conflicting theories of various authorities. It does not seem fair to throw the burden of decision upon the reader who is entitled to guidance in this difficult field, nor is there any need for his reticence after so many exhaustive studies published during the last three decades. If only he had given the reader access to the latest literature. Instead he presents the same old and unreliable evidence that previous writers have copied uncritically. The historical part opens with the fairy tale of Coster of Haarlem, by Junius. He quotes from the Latin text (as if that made it more scholarly), unaware of the devastating critical comment by the Dutch historian Kruitwagen, published in the *Gutenberg-Festschrift* of 1925, that ought to dispose of this story forever. The whole Coster literature is built upon this fanciful account, based on hearsay. If any reader wishes to know what kind of a historian Junius was, I might refer him to the story of the 365 children of the Countess of Loosduinen in the same book. The evidence cited by Junius there is a gravestone; in Coster's case it consists of some pewter jugs and a tradition 150 years old.

One need not be a partisan of Gutenberg to feel that the work of the *only* man who succeeded in evolving a practical technique of typographic

printing, still in use, deserved a fuller treatment in this book. The bibliography on this part is partly obsolete and, on the whole, sketchy. If Mr. Blum had actually studied the *Festschrift* . . . Mainz, 1900, which he cited, he would have had no doubt about the birthplace of Gutenberg, for the genealogy of the Gensfleisch family has been fully treated by Baron Schenk zu Schweinsberg, nor would he have referred to the documents presented there by Schorbach by the belittling remark "certain writers"; he might even have felt some doubts about Laborde's translation and interpretation of the Strasbourg Documents of 1493; and he would not have called the *Helmasperger Notarial Instrument* "a curious manuscript," thus ignoring its documentary value.

In justice to the reader who is left adrift on the uncharted sea of controversy, the monographs and yearbooks of the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft (some of them partisan, to be sure) should have been mentioned in the bibliography.

As far as the Korean bronze characters are concerned, American readers will find a fuller and clearer account in Carter's *The Invention of Printing in China* (1931, rev. ed.) which escaped the author's notice; he is correct, however, in stating that there is no connection between the Far East and Europe in the early fifteenth century in that matter.

The scantiness of the account devoted to Caxton (p. 34) is to be regretted; at least the beginning of printing in Westminster, as distinguished from that at Bruges, should have been indicated. The importance of the oldest dated copper engravings (1446) would have justified an illustration. And while the first books illustrated by woodcuts (Pfister, 1460) are mentioned, the accompanying illustration is that of a broadside not even referred to in the text; nor does the author point out that Pfister's books mark the first use of woodcut illustrations in popular stories, printed in the vernacular. This, incidentally, hastened the decline of the illustrated block books.

The quotation from the *Cologne Chronicle* of 1499 brings to mind the fact that the whole passage has been reproduced in facsimile in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. XI, no. 1, 1917.

The American reader will be disappointed to find that the worst printed illustration in the book is that of the 42-line Bible. A note would have been in order to absolve the printer from blame for the muddy appearance of this and the *Lactantius*, for the trouble is caused by the halftone having been made from a halftone print. With copies so readily available in New

York, it would have been easy to substitute good prints. On the other hand, reduction and the printer's art makes most of the woodcuts appear cleaner than they were printed originally. The reviewer feels like apologizing to the master whose achievement we celebrate this year.

OTTO W. FUHRMANN

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